

POL

27 - 14

BIAFRA - NIGERIA

11/1/69

STATE DEPARTMENT SYSTEMATIC REVIEW

☐ Retain classification ☐ Change/classify to _____

☒ Declassify _____

EO 12958, 25X _____

FPC/HDR by _____

Date: 3/18/96

Withdrawal No. _____

0339

DECLASSIFIED	
Authority	VND 959503
By	MV NARA
Date	10/5/05

66



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State

TELEGRAM

Active Ababa 5255
11-29-69

SECRET 296

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05255 291052Z

16

ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 UCF-05 EUR-20 IO-13 RSR-01 SSO-00 CCO-00

NSCE-00 USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 AID-28

/138 W

086533

O P 290945Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1676
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 5255

SUBJ: NIGERIAN TALKS *pol 27-14 B 7*

REF: ADDIS ABABA 5239 AND STATE 199739 (NOTAL)

1. SWISS AMB BERNOUILLI TOLD ME LAST NIGHT HE HAS NOW BEEN INSTRUCTED NOT RPT NOT DISCUSS POSSIBLE SWISS INITIATIVE NIGERIA WITH HIM. IF HIM OR FONMIN KETEMA RAISE QUESTION HE IS TO OBTAIN INSTRUCTION BEFORE RESPONDING. HE INTERPRETS THIS AS DECISION BERN TO DROP INITIATIVE (PROTECT) AND IS GREATLY RELIEVED AS IT HIS IMPRESSION EVEN IF UNFORTUNATE LEAK HAD NOT OCCURED THAT INITIATIVE WOULD SIMPLY HAVE SERVED GET OJUKWU OFF HOOK ON ADDIS TALKS. HE NOW HOPES SWISS GOVERNMENT WILL STICK TO QUIET PRESSURE ON RELIEF WHERE HE BELIEVES OJUKWU MAY IN TIME BE PERSUADED GIVE

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SECRET

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By	MN NARA
Date	10/5/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET

PAGE 02 ADDIS 05255 291052Z

WAY.

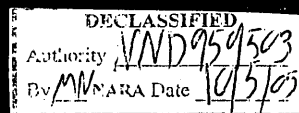
2. HE REPORTS NEW YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR, HAS INFORMED HIM THAT WHEN HE RAISED NIGERIA WITH HIM EMPEROR RESPONDED WITH VIGOR AND NO QUALIFICATION THAT NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR WAS AFRICAN QUESTION TO BE DEALT WITH BY AFRICANS AND THAT IT WAS OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE THAT CAUSED WAR TO CONTINUE TO PRESENT LENGTH. HIM HAD CONTINUED THAT OAU SEIZED WITH QUESTION AND WOULD SOLVE IT IN ITS OWN WAY AND IN ITS OWN TIME. EFFORTS BY NON-AFRICAN POWERS INVOLVE THEMSELVES IN SETTLEMENT WOULD BE RESENTED AND RESISTED BY ALL MEMBERS OF OAU. YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR REPORTEDLY HAS RECOMMENDED TITO HE DROP ANY IDEA OF INTERVENTION. YUGOSLAV ALSO TOLD SWISS AMB THAT HE THOUGHT IT WOULD BE BEST FOR SWISS ALSO NOT INVOLVE THEMSELVES.

3. SWISS AMB ALSO SAYS NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR BERN CATEGORICAL IN RESISTING SWISS INITIATIVE, REITERATING FMG WILL TALK ONLY UNDER OAU AUSPICES AND THAT ACTION SHOULD BE LEFT TO HIM. AMBASSADOR HAS PROMISED INFORM ME IF THERE FURTHER DEVELOPMENTS HIS SIDE. I HAVE TOLD HIM U.S. POSITION IS BEST COURSE NON-AFRICAN POWERS IS TO ENCOURAGE AFRICAN INITIATIVES, AT PRESENT UNDERWAY UNDER HIM AUSPICES, AND CONTINUE PRESS FOR RELIEF MEASURES. I HAVE INFORMED HIM THAT MY INSTRUCTIONS ARE IF OPPORTUNITY OFFERS, TO EXPRESS U.S. SUPPORT TO HIM AND OFFER FACILITATE HIS ACTION IF HE REQUESTS ASSISTANCE. HE AND I AGREE PROBABILITY SUCCESS CURRENT HIM EFFORT DEPENDENT ON IEG ABILITY KEEP TALKS PRIVATE, AVOID GLARE PRESS PUBLICITY, CONTROL OAU SECY GEN TELL AND PREVENT INTERFERENCE OUTSIDERS BOTH AFRICAN AND NON-AFRICAN. WE SHARE CONCERN THAT FRENCH NOT YET SOLD ON SETTLEMENT AND THAT THEIR ATTITUDE LIKELY BE CONTROLLING ON OJUKWU. WE BOTH HAVE IMPRESSION FMG STILL HOPING MILITARY VICTORY NEXT FEW MONTHS AND THAT HIM WILL HAVE TO CONVINCE THEM COMPROMISE SOLUTION BETTER THAN MILITARY ONE. WE AGREE IT UNLIKELY IEG WILL PREPARE CAREFUL APPROACH TO TALKS, BUT THAT THIS PERHAPS LESS IMPORTANT IN AFRICAN SITUATION THAN ELSEWHERE GIVEN PROCLIVITY AFRICANS IN OAU AND BILATERAL TALKS TO APPROACH PROBLEMS "CATCH AS CATCH CAN" AND TALK OUT SOLUTIONS ON MARATHON BASIS.

4. SWEDISH AMBASSADOR BERGENSTRAHLE TELLS ME HE HAS RECEIVED NO INSTRUCTIONS ON NIGERIA AND IF QUESTION RAISED WITH HIM HE WILL RECOMMEND SWEDEN LEAVE MATTER TO H.I.M.
HALL

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA
Department of State

TELEGRAM

Admiral Chaka 5256
11-29-69

SECRET 311

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05256 291121Z

17
ACTION: AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 10-13 UCF-05 SSO-00 NSCE-00 NSC-10 SS-20
SR-01 PM-05 INR-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 CCO-00 USIE-00

RSR-01 RSC-01 /102 W 086639

O R 291020Z NOV 69 ZDK
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1677
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E I C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5256

SUBJ: NIGERIAN TALKS

REF: A. STATE 199739; B. ADDIS 5255

IN LIGHT REFTEL B, I BELIEVE IT WOULD BE UNWISE FOR ME TAKE
FURTHER INITIATIVE WITH IEG AT THIS MOMENT. I HAVE REQUEST FOR
TALK WITH HIM AND KETEMA OUTSTANDING WHICH FILED BEFORE CURRENT
FLAP. I WOULD EXPECT THEM TO BE IN TOUCH WITH ME EARLY NEXT
WEEK WHEN THEY HAVE COMPLETED THEIR CURRENT INTENSIVE MEETINGS
ON ELF, SUDAN AND SOMALIA. (SEPARATELY REPORTED LAST POUCH).
IF DEPARTMENT BELIEVES DELAY UNWISE PLEASE ADVISE IMMEDIATE AND
I WILL OF COURSE CALL KETEMA THIS AFTERNOON.
HALL

(1)

SECRET
5

0342

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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/3/05



POL 87-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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Department of State
TELEGRAM

199739
46B

29 Nov 69 00 48Z

DISTRIBUTION	ACTION:	AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE	7
	INFO:	AMEMBASSY LAGOS AMEMBASSY BERN AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE AMEMBASSY LONDON AMEMBASSY PARIS USMISSION GENEVA	
	REF:	(a) Lagos 10290; (b) Addis 5239; (c) STATE 199738	199739
	STATE:	1. We disturbed by possibility current Hague group and Swiss activities re truce and on peace initiatives may prejudice HIM's current efforts for second-level negotiations. Believe it important, therefore, HIM and FMG be mollified re these extraneous initiatives. Most specifically, Ojukwu approach to Swiss appears likely source of trouble. In this connection, worth noting that Swiss appear to have no intention of not planning any mediation effort (ref c) agreement to a peace plan, and to avoid any compromise of the	
		Also worth noting Ojukwu approach to Swiss dates back to at least mid-October, was not publicized by Ojukwu, and apparently made public only by indiscretion Swiss legislator Franzoni. Thus, no apparent reason believe either Hague group or Ojukwu-Swiss activities intended to or should prejudice HIM's current efforts.	

DRAFTED BY:	DRAFTING DATE	TEL. EXT.	APPROVED BY:
AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw	11/28/69	23406	AF - Ambassador Moore
CLEARANCES:			
W/CF - Mr. Foley			

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FORM 4-68 DS-322

0343

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954/503
By MNA Date 10/3/03



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ACTION: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA - PAGE 2

2. If occasion offers in conversation HIM or Ketema, believe
(but not mentioning possible truce initiatives)
useful Ambassador Hall draw on above attempt offset potential
damage from outside initiatives.

3. For Lagos

Believe useful if you find occasion draw on these points also to
discourage adverse ~~xx~~ Lagos reaction which could prejudice HIM's
initiative.

End.

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

DRAFTING DATE

TEL. EXT.

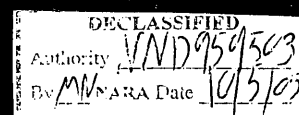
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FORM DS-322
4-68

0344





POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 379

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10341 291309Z

41
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 SS-20 NSC-10 PM-05 SR-01

INR-07 CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 /102 W
087024

R 291200Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 183
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM GCPR
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T LAGOS 10341

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF A) STATE 199249 B) ADDIS ABABA 5239 C) STATE 199739

1. UKHICOMER INFORMED BY ENAHORO OF EXTOFF IN STRICTEST
CONFIDENCE THAT FMG PLANNING SEND "LOWER LEVEL" DELEGATION TO
ADDIS ABABA ON DECEMBER 14 TO MEET WITH BIAFRANS.

2. ACCORDING TO FMG BIAFRANS HAVE NOT YET AGREED TO TALKS.

3. NO INDICATION THUS FAR HERE THAT SWISS AND HAGUE GROUP
INITIATIVES (REF. C RPT C) LIKELY TO PREJUDICE HIM'S EFFORTS WITH
FMG BUT IS POSSIBLE OJUKWU COULD USE THEM AS EXCUSE NOT TO
SEND DELEGATION TO ADDIS.

GP-3.
TRUEHEART

SECRET
31

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DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

199828

10-B

29 Nov 69 16 25z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA IMMEDIATE

INFO: Amembassy LAGOS

STATE

SUBJ: Nigerian Talks

REF : Addis Ababa 1677

possible mediation

In view apparent demise of/Swiss/initiative Department

now finds no urgency your seeing HIM and Ketema. Question

of timing your meeting with them left to your best

judgment.

GP-3

END

[ROGERS]

199828

②

DRAFTED BY: AF:HCMartin:ls	DRAFTING DATE 11/29/69	TEL. EXT. 22446	APPROVED BY: AF - CRM Moore
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CLEARANCES:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck (substance)

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FORM DS-322
4-68

0346

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 Authority VND 954503
 By MWA Date 10/5/03

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 552

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05258 300600Z

18
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 SS-20 UCF-01 NSC-10 NSCE-00 RSC-01 EUR-12 PM-03
INR-06 CIAE-00 SR-01 IO-04 DODE-00 RSR-01 /065 W
089155

P R 291105Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1679
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5258

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN TALKS

REF: STATE 196576

1. AS SUGGESTED DEPARTMENT REFERENCE MESSAGE I RAISED NIGERIA TANGENTIALLY WITH ECA SEC GEN ROBERT GARDINER COURSE LUNCH DISCUSSION OTHER SUBJECTS.

2. IT IS GARDINER'S VIEW THAT PRESENT NIGERIAN PEACE EFFORTS LIKELY BE UNSUCCESSFUL. FMG STILL EXPECTS CLOSE OUT WAR AND NOT REALLY INTERESTED SERIOUS TALKS AND BIAFRA UNWILLING ENTER TALKS SINCE LEADERSHIP LACKS CONFIDENCE ANY ARRANGEMENTS MADE WILL PROVIDE PERSONAL SECURITY FOR LEADERS EITHER DURING TALKS OR OVER LONGER RUN. GARDINER BELIEVES BIAFRANS CAN BE BROUGHT AROUND ONLY IF RESIDENT MISSION LOCATED IN BIAFRA WITH TRANSPORT OTHER FACILITIES INSURE ACCESS BY LEADERS TO OUTSIDE AND GUARANTEE MINIMUM OF PERSONAL SECURITY. HE ASSUMES FMG WILL SOONER OR LATER DECIDE WAR CANNOT BE WON. HE HAS BROACHED IDEA OF RESIDENT MISSION TO FMG COMMR. EXTERNAL AFFAIRS ARIPOKO AND RECEIVED FAVOGABLE ALTHOUGH NOT FINAL RESPONSE. HE THEN RAISED WITH UN SEC GEN U THANT BUT LATTER "RETIRED IN CONTEMPLATION" AND MADE NO RESPONSE. GARDINER BELIEVES U THANT WISHES AVOID DIFFICULTY WITH TELLI AND FMG AND THEREFORE HAS ADOPTED HANDS OFF ATTITUDE NIGERIAN QUESTION.

3. IT GARDINER'S VIEW QUESTION CAN BE DEALT WITH ONLY IN OAU OR UN. BECAUSE OF TELLI'S INCOMPETENCE HE DOES NOT BELIEVE OAU

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11-29-69
Chickie Ababa 5258

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Authority VND 950/503
By MN NARA Date 10/3/05



Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05258 300600Z

CAN HANDLE AND UNLESS U THANT PREPARED PERMIT BUNCHE DEAL WITH QUESTION HE DOES NOT THINK UN CAN HANDLE. IF HIM WOULD KEEP TELLI OUT OF MATTER AND WOULD USE EITHER KETEMA OG ENDALKATCHEW MAKONNEN AS HIS AGENT HE THINKS HIM AS REPRESENTATIVE OF OAU MIGHT HAVE SOME CHANCE. HE NOTED KETEMA NOT AVAILABLE FULL TIME AND PROBABLY UNWILLING TURN MATTER OVER ENDALKATCHEW MAKONNEN. HE CONSIDERED FIRST STEP WOULD BE FOR MEDIATOR ESTABLISH HIMSELF IN BIAFRA AND LAGOS WITH EQUAL TRANSPORT COMMUNICATION OTHER FACILITIES BOTH LOCATIONS. OBVIOUSLY I DID NOT RAISE QUESTION GARDINER'S PLAYING SUCH A ROLE BUT I DOUBT HE WILLING DO SO FOR U THANT. WHEN I ASKED IF NON-ETHIOPIAN COULD ACT WITH AND FOR HIM HE WAS CATEGOGICALLY NEGATIVE.

4. GARDINER NOT OPTIMISTIC ANYTHING WILL COME OF DECEMBER TALKS BECAUSE ETHIOPIANS APPARENTLY HAVE NO PLAN OF ACTION AND BECAUSE TELLI LIKELY PLAY LEADING ROLE, AND IN HIS VIEW NEITHER PARTY REALLY INTERESTED IN NEGOTIATIONS. GARDINER'S FINAL COMMENT TOO MANY INDIVIDUALS VISUALIZE THEMSELVES AS NOBEL PRIZE WINNERS FOR SETTLEMENT NIGERIAN WAR. HE DOUBTED ANY OF THEM LIKELY BE SUCCESSFUL EITHER ENDEAVOR.

5. COMMENT: GARDINER COMMENTED COURSE CONVERSATION MANCHESTER GUARDIAN AGAIN RUMORING THAT HE CANDIDATE FOR SYG. HE SAID AFTER RECENT EXPERIENCE WITH GOG AND BUSIA HIS PRINCIPAL DESIRE WAS TO AVOID PUBLICITY AND STICK TO HIS ECA JOB. I THEREFORE CONCLUDE HE UNLIKELY RESPOND FAVORABLY TO DRAFT OR OTHER CALL WORK ON NIGERIAN QUESTION.
HALL

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0348

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Authority	VND 954503
By	MW NARA Date 10/3/05



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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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Department of State
TELEGRAM

199249

28 Nov 69 17 12z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AMEMBASSY ADDIS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY BERN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

STATE:

REF: State 199098; State 199172

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra Relief Truce

1. Reftels and other relevant traffic repeated addressee posts deal with two separate efforts at relief truce. The Hague group is considering concerted effort at Christmas truce. Swiss, Austrians, Yugoslavs, and Swedes apparently consulting on relief truce independently of Hague group. Latter four powers also apparently consulting on Ojukwu request to Swiss for European mediation.

2. Since these two moves obviously bear on one another, and both bear on current efforts HIM to obtain second-level negotiations between two parties, request all traffic on subjects reftels be repeated to all addressee posts this message.

End.

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw

DRAFTING DATE

11/28/69

TEL. EXT.

23406

APPROVED BY:

AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

CLEARANCES:

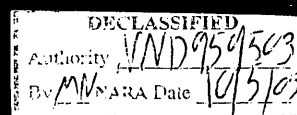
U/CF - Mr. Foley

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4-68

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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21 11
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 UCF-01 SS-20 SR-01 PM-03 INR-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 EUR-12 /061 W
085828

R 281535Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1674
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA
AMEMBASSY PARIS

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 5253

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIAN TALKS

REF: LAGOS 10261 (NOTAL)

1. BRITISH AMB HAS INFORMED US HIS TALK KETEMA ALONG LINES
REFERENCE MESSAGE. THIS CONFIRMED INFORMATION FROM ETHIOPIANS
REPORTED EARLIER TO DEPARTMENT (MESSAGE NOT SENT OTHER ADDRESSEES.)
ONLY ADDITIONAL INFORMATION KNOWN US IS INTENTION IEG HOLD TALKS
OUTSIDE ADDIS AT LOCATION PERMITTING RESTRICTION PRESS AND PUBLIC,
PRESUMABLY LOCATION SUCH AS GALILA PALACE HOTEL AT KOKA, PALACE
HOTEL DEBRE ZIT OR PORTION SODDERE RESORT.

2. ECA SECY GARDINER TOLD ME TODAY GHANA PRIME MINISTER BUSIA
EXPECTED ADDIS MID-DECEMBER CONNECTION NIGERIAN TALKS. HE
BELIEVES BUSIA MAY HAVE INVITED HIMSELF TO TALKS OR ALTERNATIVELY
MAY HAVE REQUESTED HIM CONVENE MEETING CONSULTATIVE COMMITTEE.
GARDINER BELIEVES BUSIA ACTING RESPONSE PRESSURES HOUPOUET-BOIGNY.

3. FONMIN KETEME EARLIER ASKED THAT INFORMATION BE CLOSELY HELD
TO AVOID LEAKS. THIS CAUTION ALSO GIVEN BRITISH AMB AND ASSUME
IT STILL HOLDS ALTHOUGH OJUKWU REQUEST TO SWISS MAY HAVE REDUCED

PROSPECTS ADDIS MEETING. HALL

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11-28-69
Addis Ababa 5253

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Pol 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 BELGRA 03773 282020Z

45 42
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 EUR-12 SS-20 NSC-10 INR-06 UCF-01 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 PRS-01 (RSR) 01 RSC-01 P-01 USIA-04 SR-01 7064 W 083018

P R 281800Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 6697
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY BERN
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L BELGRADE (3773)

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: STATE 199098

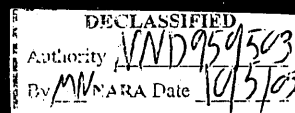
1. FONOFF SPOKESMAN NOVEMBER 27 RESPONDING TO QUESTION FROM
AFP CORRESPONDENT STATED "BIAFRA HAS NOT, RPT NOT, REQUESTED
EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY THE MEDIATION OF YUGOSLAVIA IN
NIGERIAN CONFLICT."

2. CORRESPONDENT HAD SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO TRIBUNE DE
LAUSANNE STORY AND A REQUEST FOR MEDIATION "ALLEGEDLY CONVEYED
BY SWISS MP AFTER TRIP TO BIAFRA." ALL BELGRADE PAPERS TODAY,
AND TANJUG, FEATURE TEXT REPLY AS "FONOFF ANNOUNCEMENT." GP-3.
LEONHART

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 539

PAGE 01 ADDIS 05239 270927Z

21 L 11
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 UCF-05 SS-20 NSC-10 EUR-20 PM-05 SR-01 INR-07

DDOE-00 CIAE-00 RSR-01 RSC-01 /089 W 076654

R 270905Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1665

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5239

REF: STATE 197573

SUBJ: NIGERIA

1. I HAVE REQUESTED AUDIENCE WITH HIM AND TOLD FONMIN KETEMA I HOPE DISCUSS NIGERIA WITH HIM (KETEMA) NEXT FEW DAYS. IN VIEW OTHER PREOCCUPATIONS (SEPARATELY REPORTED) DOUBT INTERVIEW WILL OCCUR BEFORE SAT. A.M.

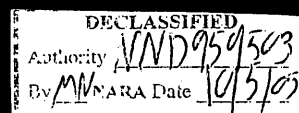
2. SWISS AMB HAS RECEIVED INSTRUCTIONS DISCUSS OJUKWU REQUESTS SWISS MEDIATION NIGERIA WITH IEG. HOPE SEE HIM NEXT FEW DAYS DETERMINE NATURE APPROACH SWISS HAVE IN MIND.

3. IN LIGHT PUBLICIZED OJUKWU SHOT GUN INITIATIVES FOR EUROPEAN MEDIATION INCLINED DOUBT ADDIS MEETING WILL COME OFF. GENERAL REACTION ADDIS DIPLOMATIC CORPS LAST NIGHT WAS BIAFRANS AGAIN ENGAGED OBFUSCATION AND THE FMG WOULD HARDEN INSISTENCE ON OAU COVER FOR ANY TALKS.
HALL

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0352





Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

Department of State

TELEGRAM

Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria

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CONFIDENTIAL

PAGE 01 THE HA 04556 271300Z

SI
ACTION UCF-05

INFO: OCT-01 AF-12 EUR-20 IO-13 COO-00 SSO-00 INCE-00

USIE-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 IH-02 INR-07 L-09

NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SSW-20 UPH-01 SCS-04

SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03 AID-28 ACDA-18 RBR-01 116011
077138

DIPI 271240Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4804
INFO USMISSION GENEVA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

COPIES: 1 DIPI 1 DIA 1 THE HAGUE 4556

FOR UCFI -- AMB FERGUSON

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN RELIEF -- POSSIBLE CHRISTMAS TRUCE

REF: HAGUE 4542 (NOTAL)

1. SHARP RENEWAL DURING PAST FEW WEEKS OF DOMESTIC PRESSURES ON GON TO TAKE NEW INITIATIVES ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA HAS LED MFA TO TAKE CLOSER LOOK AT POSSIBLE APPEAL FOR RELIEF-ORIENTED CHRISTMAS TRUCE. BASED ON FAVORABLE REACTION FROM SCANDINAVIANS, MFA NOW INTENDS MAKE DEMARCHES IN ALL HAGUE GROUP CAPITALS PLUS PARIS AND LONDON TOMORROW (NOV 28) WITH VIEW TO LAUNCHING APPEAL NEXT WEEK.

2. MFA'S HUMDEOPERI DISCUSSED QUESTION WITH FERGUSON AT GENEVA/HAGUE GROUP MEETING AND UNDERSTOOD FERGUSON WOULD PROVIDE U.S. VIEWS BY END LAST WEEK. HUMDEOPERI TOLD EMBASSY TODAY HE FEELS HE CAN NOT HOLD UP DEMARCHES WAITING FOR U.S. REACTION BEYOND TOMORROW.

3. WOULD APPRECIATE URGENT RESPONSE REFFEL INCLUDING OPINIONS ON FOLLOWING QUESTIONS:

CONFIDENTIAL

No change - 4556
11-27-69

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0353

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/3/05

Pol 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria
4 Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria

OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

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199172

27 Nov 69 17 20Z

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Origin ACTION: AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE Priority

Info: Amembassy London Priority
" Lagos "
US Mission Geneva "

STATE

Ref. The Hague 4556

Subject: Nigeria/Biafra Christmas Truce

1. Ferguson not yet returned. In absence more detailed background we unable comment in specific terms. In any event urgency USG views not clear in connection proposed demarche.
2. Appears to us some difficult questions unanswered, e.g. how police truce. However, in principle USG would view with sympathy any efforts by Hague Group aimed at improving climate for settlement or helping on relief problem. We assume there is no wish associate USG in proposal and believe preferable USG not directly involved.

(6)

Drafted by: AF/SN W.H.Brubeck *W.B.* Tel. Ext. Telegraphic transmission and classification approved by: W.H.Brubeck *W.B.*

Clearance: AF: Amb. Moore (subst.) *W.B.*
U/CF: Col. Dewey (subst.) *W.B.*

~~Confidential~~
Classification

FORM DS-322 8-65

0354

DECLASSIFIED
Authority VMD 954503
By MNARA Date 10/3/05



Pol. 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 229

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10261 261534Z

43 41
ACTION AF-05

INFO OCT-01 UCF-01 SS-20 SR-01 PM-03 INR-06 NSC-10 NSCE-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 RSC-01 RSR-01 EUR-12 SSO-00 /061 W
071254

P R 261430Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 136
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T LAGOS 10261

LIMDIS

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: STATE 197573, 197574 (NOTAL)

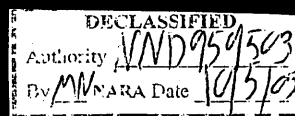
1. UKHICOM HAS INFORMED US THAT THEIR AMBASSADOR IN ADDIS ABABA WAS TOLD BY KETEMA THAT HE HOPED A MEETING WOULD TAKE PLACE IN ADDIS ABABA AT FOREIGN MINISTER LEVEL AROUND MIDDLE OF NEXT MONTH. FMG WAS PREPARED TO PARTICIPATE AND KETEMA HOPED OJUKWU WOULD MAKE NO DIFFICULTY BUT WAS AWAITING CONFIRMATION. AT OJUKWU'S REQUEST SIACA STEVENS WAS BEING USED AS INTERMEDIARY.

2. KETEMA SAID GHANIAN SUGGESTION THAT TALKS BE HELD AT ACCRA WAS UNLIKELY TO BE ACCEPTED, EVEN THOUGH TALKS WOULD NOT INITIALLY BE AT HIGHEST LEVEL, EMPEROR WOULD WISH TO PRESIDE AT OPENING AND FOLLOW DEVELOPMENTS CLOSELY, AND HE COULD NOT LEAVE COUNTRY FOR PROTRACTED PERIOD. FURTHERMORE FMG DID NOT WANT MEETINGS TO TAKE PLACE IN ACCRA.

① 3. UKHICOM HAS OBTAINED CONFIRMATION OF SOME OF FOREGOING FROM ADENJI, HEAD AFRICA DIVISION IN EXTAFF, WHO SAID FMG PREPARED IN PRINCIPLE FOR QTE UNCONDITIONAL LOW LEVEL TALKS

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PAGE 02 LAGCS 10261 261534Z

UNQTE DURING DECEMBER. HE ADDED THAT TALKS WOULD BE INCON-
VENIENT BEFORE END OF RAMADAN (DECEMBER 12) BUT THOUGHT IT
UNLIKELY EMPEROR COULD TRANSMIT A REPLY FROM OJUKWU IN TIME
TO SET UP TALKS BEFORE THAT DATE.

4. ADENIJI FURTHER COMMENTED THAT HE THOUGHT THE EMPEROR,
WHOSE AUTHORITY IN THE MATTER FMG WISHED TO MAINTAIN, PRE-
FERRED TO HAVE TALKS IN ADDIS ABABA. WHILE FMG HAD NOT
FORMALLY REJECTED ACCRA, THEY WERE NOT CONTEMPLATING TALKS
ELSEWHERE, ALTHOUGH THEY WOULD NOT MAKE VENUE A STICKING POINT.

5. COMMENT: WE HAVE BEEN AVOIDING DIRECT INQUIRIES OF FMG
RE OUTLOOK FOR NEGOTIATIONS AND JUDGE FROM REFTELS THAT
DEPARTMENT AGREES THIS IS BEST STANCE AT THIS STAGE--
ESPECIALLY WHEN WE HAVE BENEFIT UK INFO. WILL APPRECIATE
EMBASSY ADDIS ABABA INCLUDING US ON DISTRIBUTION ANY INFORM-
ATION THIS SUBJECT PICKED UP THERE.

GP-3
TRUEHEART

SECRET

0356

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By	MM NARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 2714 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04251 261720Z

45
ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 SCS-04 SCA-01 SR-01 ORM-03
AID-28 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 RSR-01 /159 W
071976

P 261630Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3832
INFO AMEMBASSY BERN PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L GENEVA 4251

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

REF: GENEVA 4248

1. DURING MY COURTESY CALL ON LICROSS SEC GEN BEER TODAY HE REFERRED TO STORY WHICH HAS JUST BROKEN IN SWISS PRESS TO EFFECT THAT BIAFRA (OJUKWU) HAD REQUESTED SWITZERLAND AND CERTAIN OTHER GOVERNMENTS TO MEDIATE NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN CONFLICT.

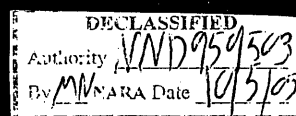
2. ACCORDING BEER OJUKWU RAISED THIS MATTER WITH AMBASSADOR RUEGGER DURING LATTER'S VISIT TO BIAFRA IN MID-OCTOBER.

3. BEER WAS NOT AWARE SWITZERLAND'S POSITION IN MATTER BUT SPECULATED THAT GOS WOULD WANT TO BE AS HELPFUL AS POSSIBLE. FURTHER SPECULATED THAT GOS WOULD HAVE TO MAKE ITS POSITION KNOWN SOON LIGHT FACT MATTER NOW IN OPEN.
RIMESTAD

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32

0357



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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 GENEVA 04248 261527Z

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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 SR-01 ORM-03 NIC-01 UCF-05 AID-28
PC-04 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00
NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 SSO-00 NSCE-00 USIE-00
SCS-04 SCA-01 RSR-01 /152 W

P R 261450Z NOV 69
FM USMISSION GENEVA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 3829
INFO AMEMBASSY BERN
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE GENEVA 4248

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

SWISS RADIO THIS NOON CARRIED STORY BIAFRA HAS REQUESTED AUSTRIA,
SWEDEN, SWITZERLAND OR YUGOSLAVIA TO MEDIATE NIGERIAN/BIAFRAN
CONFLICT. RADIO STATEMENT INDICATED SWISS INTEREST. DECON ON REC-
EIPT.
RIMESTAD

Geneva 4248
11-26-69

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Authority VND 959/503
By MNA Date 10/3/05



59 Pol 27-14 Biafra Nigeria

Department of State

TELEGRAM

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PAGE 01 BERN 03599 261751Z

46
ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 AF-12 IO-13 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07

L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12

UCF-05 AID-28 PC-04 SR-01 ORM-03 RSR-01 /157 W
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R 261710Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY BERN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2960
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY VIENNA
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

C O N F I D E N T I A L BERN 3599

REF: GENEVA'S 4248

1. SWISS NATIONALRAT ENRICO FRANZONI RETURNED FROM OCTOBER VISIT TO BIAFRA WITH LETTERS REQUESTING MEDIATION FROM OJUKWU TO SWISS PRESIDENT AND ALSO TO AUSTRIAN, YUGOSLAV AND SWEDISH EQUIVALENTS. SWISS STUDYING REQUEST BUT HAVE NOT DECIDED WHAT TO DO. THEY ARE IN TOUCH WITH AUSTRIANS AND YUGOSLAVS, BUT NOT SWEDES.

2. FRANZONI CLEARLY SPILLED BEANS BY REVEALING EXISTENCE OF LETTER IN TELEVISION INTERVIEW. INTER ALIA FRANZONI CLAIMED THAT OJUKWU HAD STATED BIAFRA WOULD NOT BE FULLY INDEPENDENT BUT ONLY WISHED GREATER AUTONOMY WITHIN NIGERIAN FEDERATION. VINE

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48
U.S. DEPARTMENT OF STATE
DIRECTOR OF INTELLIGENCE AND RESEARCH

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*Intelligence
Note* - 830

November 26, 1969

To : The Secretary
Through: S/S
From : INR - Ray S. Cline

RSC

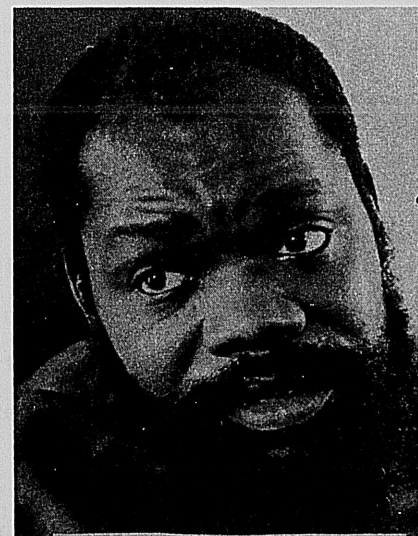
Subject: NIGERIA-BIAFRA: Peace or Pieces

Under heavy pressure from friends and would-be mediators, Nigeria and Biafra seem finally to have agreed to second level talks, to be held under



Major-General Yakubu Gowon

the aegis of Emperor Haile Selassie when Ramadan ends after December 12. Much, however, could happen to upset this fragile understanding. Even if negotiations do take place, the parties are still too far apart to permit much hope of agreement. A military "solution," sooner or later, remains the most likely prospect.



Chukwu-Emeka Odumegwu Ojukwu

(2)
This report was produced by the Bureau of Intelligence and Research. Aside from normal substantive exchange with other agencies at the working level, it has not been coordinated elsewhere.

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*Oct 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria
XR PM 27 Biafra - Nigeria*

0360

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/95

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- 2 -

Negotiating Positions. The Nigerians are holding firm to their "one Nigeria" policy, though they may be flexible as to when and in what form the renunciation of secession takes place. The Biafrans, while publicly holding to their demand for a separate existence--particularly for representation on international bodies and for autonomous security forces--may have a fall-back position allowing for some concessions. Reuters recently quoted an unnamed Biafran spokesman as saying: "Since our attachment to sovereignty is functional and not sentimental, Biafra will be prepared to accept, at the suggestion of no matter who/m/, any alternative arrangement that can guarantee a nonrecurrence of the massacres of the last 25 years." The statement has since been denied, although it is thought to have been made or approved by Colonel C. Odumegwu Ojukwu himself in an effort to signal Biafran flexibility. "Flexible" or not, the Biafrans still seem quite disinclined to make the sort of basic concessions the federal side demands.

The Alternative to Negotiations. The alternative to negotiations is continued civil war. Both sides have received new weapons which could have sudden impact in either direction.¹ However, recent travelers to the enclave report that discipline and morale among the Biafran troops has deteriorated. Platoon commanders are said to be commandeering relief vehicles and stealing civilian crops for their men. Visitors report that many Biafrans seem to express their support for the war only if asked, and otherwise keep quiet.

1. See Intelligence Note 811, "NIGERIA-BIAFRA: New Weapons May Delay Peace Talks," November 14, 1969 (SECRET/NO FOREIGN DISSEM).

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By	MW NARA
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- 3 -

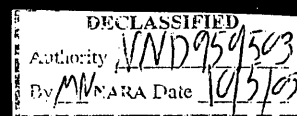
We understand that Biafran finances are in bad shape and that Biafran forces now operate on ammunition reserves more limited than before. These straws in the wind may indicate a situation in which the Nigerians would lose all interest in negotiations as they sense imminent victory on the battlefield. Ironically, the very circumstances which could lead Biafra to make the required concessions tend to stiffen the Nigerian back.

How the End May Come. Due in part to lack of effective leadership the Federal military has consistently failed to over-run the enclave. Nevertheless, Federal troops are only 20-25 miles from the two principal Biafran airfields and less than ten from field artillery range of these essential lifelines to the outside world. There are indications of expanding Federal military activity. While Federal and Biafran forces are about equal in number in the South, there are areas in the North where the Federal forces enjoy a two or three-to-one edge; they have a considerable edge in firepower. The Biafran lines are stretched thin, and a penetration of perhaps 10-15 miles by Nigerian forces could bring about a Biafran collapse. So might the capture or interdiction of Uli airport for more than a few days.

Pieces Instead of Peace: Federal troops could lose **self-control** in a retaliatory blood bath as they occupy a prostrate Biafra, especially if Biafra in desperation takes some rash last-minute action such as bombing Lagos. The Federal Chief of State, General Yakubu Gowon, and his division commanders, do not want such atrocities, but their ability to control the troops at the platoon level is uncertain. The situation could be aggravated by Biafran guerrilla resistance. There is an observer team composed of two observers,

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- 4 -

from each of six countries; they are normally in Lagos. So small an international "force" could not be expected to exercise much restraint on Federal troops sweeping the enclave should organized resistance cave in. Such a tragic breakdown in Federal discipline is by no means inevitable, but the possibility must be taken into account.

After the Flood: There would be an immediate need for food, medicine and shelter in areas over-run by Federal troops, even if Federal discipline holds firm. This requires pre-positioning of major stocks of supplies and drawing up of contingency agreements among air line companies, relief organizations, and governments. The more effective the international assistance rendered in the wake of a rebel collapse, the better would be the hope for peaceful reintegration of the Ibos into Nigeria. A prostrate Biafra presents a sombre prospect, but this seems the likely outcome in the absence of a negotiated settlement. The attrition of fatigue, military pressure and malnutrition continues to weaken the resiliency of Biafra. A collapse could come in a week, a month, or the better part of a year.

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By	MNARA
Date	10/5/05



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Department of State
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197573

25 NOV 69 18 42Z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS

STATE:

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra

LIMDIS

1. This is FYI and background guidance for conversation with HIM proposed septel. We actively exploring what can be done to promote and support constructive negotiation towards settlement Nigerian war, bearing in mind African sensitivities, limited role for outsiders, and necessity confine US to behind-scenes diplomatic assistance, avoiding direct responsibility. We are thinking along following lines regarding contributions that might promote settlement where US could play helpful facilitative role.

2. We interested in finding a suitable African mediator who could play ~~XXXXXX~~ role as interlocutor between parties, bringing about unconditional second-level talks, moderating and managing talks. Our thought is neutral figure with appropriate skills by ~~XXXXXX~~ well-planned conduct of talks might gradually lead from secondary issues at secondary level to

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw

DRAFTING DATE

11/21/69

TEL. EXT.

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APPROVED BY:

U - The Under Secretary

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Foley

AF - Mr. Newsom

S/S - Mr. Brown

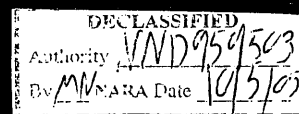
S/PC - Mr. Ruser

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FORM 4-68 DS-322

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Page 2 of telegram to AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

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[ultimate negotiation on basic issues political settlement. Tentative preference is for someone not a national leader in his own right but acting perhaps with backing of Emperor and Houphouet as well as (privately) key non-African powers.

3. Among issues on which outsiders might provide useful help to mediator are suggestions and, if appropriate, planning and support for arrangements designed to reassure Biafrans on Ibo security in the context of settlement, including possible, neutral observer force; international consortium, perhaps as extension of above, to provide resources and possibly operate an immediate, large-scale relief-rehabilitation-resettlement program post-hostilities. These might be subjects for tentative negotiation ~~xxx~~ prior to and contingent on basic political settlement, which we recognize must be settled between parties.

4. We have conducted exploratory talks re above and re cooperative diplomatic influence on parties with French and British during UndSec's recent European trip and expect talk further more specifically with both Governments in coming weeks. This reflects our judgment that effective support of serious negotiations will require at least some understanding and cooperation of British, French and Houphouet

[in influencing two]

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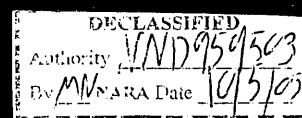
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	sides.	
	5. In view XXXXX sensitive nature of present negotiating initiative being undertaken by HIM, we would not expect take any action or discuss this subject with Africans at present time. However, if further developments ^{this} with initiative warrant, or if initiative collapses, we may be looking for ways of making more active contribution along above lines.	
	End.	
	J	
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

SECRET 854

PAGE 01 LAGOS 10237 251809Z

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ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 1046 W

P 251655Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 120

S E C R E T LAGOS 10237

EXDIS

DEPT S/S PASS LONDON AND PARIS

REF STATE 195055 AND 196752

1. I SAW ARIKPO THIS MORNING PURSUANT REFTELS. I RE-
CALLED HIS URGING UNDERSECRETARY IN OCTOBER TO PRESS FRENCH
TO PUT PRESSURE ON OJUKWU TO SUPPORT NEGOTIATIONS IN ONE
NIGERIA CONTEXT AND UNDERSECRETARY'S RESPONSE THAT WE COULD
TALK WITH FRENCH BUT COULD NOT REPEAT NOT ACT AS FMG BROKER.
WE HAD SINCE THEN HAD TALKS WITH FRENCH, NOTABLY UNDERSECRE-
TARY'S MEETING WITH SCHUMANN NOV 12 AND THOUGH IT MIGHT BE
HELPFUL FOR HIM TO KNOW OUR IMPRESSIONS FRENCH ATTITUDES
PARTICULARLY IF HE HIMSELF WAS GOING TO PARIS AS AMBASSADOR
IYALLA HAD INDICATED HE PLANNED TO DO.

2. I SAID IT WAS OUR IMPRESSION THAT BASIC FRENCH ATTITUDE HAD NOT CHANGED ALTHOUGH THEY SEEMED VERY READY TO CARRY ON DIALOGUE ABOUT NEGOTIATIONS. FURTHER THEY CONTINUED TO TAKE THE POSITION THAT THEY DID NOT INSIST ON INDEPENDENCE FOR BIAFRA BUT PROFESSED TO BE MORE CONCERNED WITH THE FUTURE OF THE PEOPLES INVOLVED RATHER THAN WITH PARTICULAR INSTITUTIONS. THAT BEING THE CASE THE PRINCIPAL SUGGESTION WE COULD MAKE TO ARIKPO WAS THAT IN ANY CONVERSATION HE MIGHT HAVE WITH THE FRENCH IT WOULD BE WELL TO STRESS FMG UNDERTAKINGS WITH REGARD TO REINTEGRATION OF IBOS INTO SOCIETY, CIVIL SERVICE AND MILITARY AND ON GUARANTEES FOR SECURITY OF IBOS, PARTICULARLY FMG READINESS TO HAVE INTERNATIONAL OBSERVERS.

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By MN NARA Date 10/5/05

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PAGE 02 LAGOS 10237 251809Z

3. ARIKPO SAID HE APPRECIATED BEING KEPT INFORMED ON OUR TALKS WITH THE FRENCH AND WAS GLAD TO HAVE SUGGESTIONS ON BEST POINTS TO PUSH WITH THEM. HE HAD IN FACT PLANNED TO GO TO PARIS LAST WEEK OR THIS WEEK BUT NOW WOULD NOT BE GOING BEFORE MID DECEMBER. HE SAID THAT QUITE FRANKLY IT WAS SCHUMANN'S STATEMENT BEFORE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ON NOV 4 (PARIS 172511) WHICH HAD CAUSED HIM TO DEFER HIS VISIT. SCHUMANN SEEMED TO ARIKPO TO BE TAKING IF ANYTHING A HARDER LINE THAN DE GAULLE. HE HAD BEEN PARTICULARLY STRUCK BY STATEMENT TO THE EFFECT THAT AT A LATER DECISIVE STAGE FRANCE MIGHT BE ABLE TO INTERVENE EFFECTIVELY AND IT WAS THIS SPECIFIC STATEMENT WHICH HAD LED HIM TO PUT OFF TRIP. WHEN ASKED WHAT HE THOUGH SCHUMANN MEANT BY THIS RATHER DELPHIC REMARK ARIKPO SAID HE WAS NOT SURE BUT WAS SEEKING CLARIFICATION BEFORE GOING TO PARIS. (WE HAVE HAD INDICATIONS FROM OTHER SOURCES THAT ARIKPO DEFERRED TRIP PENDING DEVELOPMENT OF MILITARY OFFENSIVE WHICH IS REPORTEDLY IMPENDING. CONCEIVABLY CITATION OF SCHUMANN'S REFERENCE TO "DECISIVE STAGE" WAS ARIKPO'S OBLIQUE WAY OF TELLING ME THAT THIS WAS TRUE REASON FOR DEFERRAL OF VISIT.)

4. IN COURSE OF CONVERSATION I MENTIONED THAT FRENCH APPEARED TO FEEL THAT AFRICAN POWERS WERE IN BEST POSITION TO BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT AND SAW LITTLE THAT OUTSIDERS COULD DO. I HOPED IN THIS CONNECTION THAT ARIKPO'S OWN TRAVELS, MOST RECENTLY TO ADDIS ABABA, HAD BEEN PRODUCTIVE. ARIKPO REPLIED THAT THEY HAD THAT HE THOUGHT IN FACT THERE WAS A DEFINITE MOVEMENT FAVORABLE TO THE FMG EVERYWHERE, WITH THE IMPORTANT EXCEPTION OF THE IVORY COAST.

GP-2.
TRUEHEART.

NOTE: AS RECEIVED.
VERIFICATION UPON REQUEST.

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Date	10/5/05

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S/S-O	11	Date 11/25/69	Dpty

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U	<u>5</u>	ARA	
J	<u>6</u>	EA	
D	<u>7</u>	EUR	<u>19-20</u>
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
197574

25 NOV 69 18 45z

DISTRIBUTION

ACTION: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA PRIORITY

INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

STATE:

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra

REF: 197573

1. We recognize IEG sensitivity re current negotiation initiative and do not want to show so aggressive an interest as to cause adverse reaction. ~~XXX~~ Per background reftel, however, we wish so far as possible encourage HIM continue keep us closely informed and to impress on him our willingness lend discreet support in whatever ways he thinks helpful to current initiative. We aim to cultivate closest consultation HIM and Ketema on negotiations, with view to creating propitious climate for further USG approach, at right time, on subjects reftel. Accordingly, request you seek early opportunity pass Presidential message below to HIM and talk HIM and Ketema along following lines.

2. President has asked you convey HIM admiration his continuing efforts achieve negotiated settlement and express to HIM President's hope current initiative will be successful. Recalling their June

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw/MS
DRAFTING DATE: 11/25/69
TEL. EXT.: 23406
APPROVED BY: U - The Under Secretary/MS

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Foley MS
S/S - Mr. Brown RAB

AF - Mr. Newsom MS
S/PC - Mr. Ruser MS

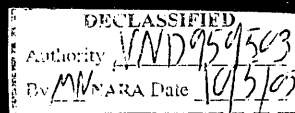
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ACTION: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA - PAGE 2

conversation and HIM desire US cooperation in search for settlement, President wishes reiterate USG readiness provide such support and help as HIM may find useful. President aware African feeling war is sustained by outside support, and Africans have urged that US use its influence with other outsiders to encourage settlement. USG has been exploring with UK and France (UndSec with Stewart and Schumann) how the three governments might encourage the parties to cooperate in African negotiation initiatives. We believe there may be some basis for getting outside diplomatic influence on two parties in current initiative if and when HIM thinks useful. President appreciates HIM thoughtfulness in keeping Ambassador Hall informed and will follow negotiating developments with great interest.

3. If you feel climate propitious in further conversation with Ketema, would be helpful have from him more specific view as to how they see negotiation proceeding. If possible to discuss without implying US making proposals, we interested in such questions as agenda and objectives of initial negotiation; what scenario is envisaged beyond initial meetings; whether role is contemplated for interlocutor or mediator.

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TEL. EXT.

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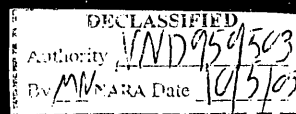
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ACTION: AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA - PAGE 3

Specifically, we wonder how IEG assesses experience previous failures negotiating efforts, and how current initiative designed apply lessons failure to improve whatever prospects exist for third parties bring adversaries to peace. We recognize Ketema may be reticent on such matters and above points your guidance necessarily low-key. Basic purpose, to repeat, is simply reestablish closest consultation with IEG with view to more specific US input to negotiating scenario on later occasion as HIM reaction this approach and other developments make prudent.

End.

ROGERS

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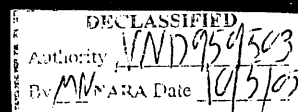
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ACTION AF-18

INFO OCT-01 EUR-20 IO-13 UCF-05 AID-28 SR-01 ORM-03 ACDA-18

CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-02 INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10

P-03 RSC-01 PRS-01 SS-20 USIA-12 UPW-01 SCS-04 SCA-01

RSR-01 /178 W

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R 251620 NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4798
INFO USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L THE HAGUE 4542

SUBJECT: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: POSSIBLE CHRISTMAS TRUCE

REF: GENEVA 4160

1. DESPITE LACK PROGRESS ON TRUCE SUGGESTION AT RECENT HAGUE GROUP MEETING (GENEVA 4160, PARA 19), HUYDECOPER HAS TOLD US THAT HE BELIEVES IT WORTH PURSUING AND ASKED OUR VIEWS.

2. HE SAID HE ASKED SWEDISH AND NORWEGIAN AMBASSADORS NOV 24 FOR VIEWS THEIR GOVTS., WHICH THEY PROMISED OBTAIN. HIS THINKING NOW IS THAT ANY TRUCE SHOULD BE CLEARLY LIMITED, WITH ESTABLISHED END DATE. PERHAPS AN 8-DAY PERIOD COMMENCING DEC 21 MIGHT BE APPROPRIATE. ALSO, HE FAVORS DEFINITE STATEMENT OF WHAT WOULD BE FLOWN IN DURING TRUCE AND BY WHAT MEANS, WITH AS MUCH SPECIFIC DATA AS POSSIBLE. ARMS SHIPMENTS WOULD HAVE TO BE STOPPED DURING TRUCE.

3. HUYDECOPER THOUGHT ANY DECISION RE TRUCE WOULD HAVE TO BE MADE BY ABOUT DEC 1. WOULD APPRECIATE GUIDANCE ON RESPONSE TO HIS REQUEST. GP-3.
BOVEY

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INFO: AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY LONDON

STATE:

SUBJECT: Nigeria/Biafra

LIMDIS

1. We would appreciate it if you can find low-key opportunity for informal conversation with Robert Gardiner on Nigerian "problem." Canadians have told us of recent interesting discussion between Gardiner and Canadian Ambassador for Addis.
He is one who might assume
2. FYI / ~~no Xerox received Xerox type~~ "Jarring" type role ~~Xerox Gardiner~~ on Nigeria at some future time. Therefore interested in his views on how to negotiate settlement (which he discussed with Canadian); his own biases on issues, if any; whether he publicly identified as pro-one side; his potential acceptability in such role with Busia, Houphouet, HIM, Lagos, Biafrans, and French. End FYI
3. Will appreciate whatever you can produce without unduly arousing curiosity as to reason for our interest.

End .

ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:gw

DRAFTING DATE

11/21/69

TEL. EXT.

23406

APPROVED BY:

AF - Mr. Newsom

CLEARANCES:

U/CF - Mr. Foley

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS PRIORITY

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy PARIS

STATE

EXDIS

REFERENCE: (a) Lagos 10134; (b) State 195055

FOR AMBASSADOR

1. Discussion with Iyalla here was quite general and focused principally on evident French willingness to continue dialogue on negotiations and probable receptivity to FMG suggestions. Details mentioned ref (a) not discussed and should not be raised with Arikpo, except for idea international observer force to help meet security and resettlement problem. which FMG accepts.

2. Even though Arikpo trip to Paris now less certain, believe it will be useful for you to have discussion with him, along lines ref (b), as follow up to our talks with Iyalla and earnest our continuing interest.

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN-GSherry:chg

DRAFTING DATE: 11/22/69

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APPROVED BY: AF - Mr. Newsom

CLEARANCES:

S/PC- Mr. Ruser

S/S - Mr. Brandt

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ACTION AF-18

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R 211405Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 67
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
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AMEMBASSY NIAMEY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
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USMISSION GENEVA
CINCSRIKE
DIA
AMCONSUL IBADAN
AMCONSUL KADUNA

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 10147

SUBJECT: CONDITIONS NORTH OF BIAFRA

REF LAGOS 296 (NOTAL)

1. FROM FIVE DAY TRIP TO AREA OF EAST CENTRAL STATE
NORTH OF REBEL ENCLAVE BY EMBASSY OFFICER, WE CONCLUDE
THAT INTERMITTENT AND INEFFECTUAL REBEL HARASSING
ACTIVITIES IRRITATE THE MILITARY AND FRIGHTEN CIVILIAN
ADMINISTRATORS BUT DO NOT SERIOUSLY THREATEN FEDERAL
CONTROL; THAT FEDERAL MILITARY BUILDUP CONTINUING WITH
TROOPS MOVING SOUTHEAST OF ENUGU TRYING TO REOPEN ROAD
LINK WITH ONITSHA; AND THAT FEDERALS FIRMLY
CONTROL MAJOR TOWNS ALTHOUGH IBO RURAL POPULATION
NORTH OF ENCLAVE REMAINS PASSIVE.

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2. CIVILIAN ADMINISTRATION OF AREA IS RUDIMENTARY. IBO PERSONNEL WHILE WORKING WELL WITH FMG MILITARY ARE UNDERSTANDABLY NERVOUS ABOUT REBEL RETRIBUTION, SPECIFICALLY POLITICAL ASSASSINATION. CIVIL AUTHORITIES AND RELIEF OFFICIALS REPORT NO PARTICULAR INCREASE IN QTE LINE CROSSERS UNQTE FROM BIAFRA BUT BOUNDARIES OF ENCLAVE ARE POROUS, NOT FIXED LINE. AS RESULT IT SEEMS PROBABLY SOME PERSONS FROM INSIDE ENCLAVE COMING OUT WHEN CONDITIONS THERE TOO DIFFICULT, BUT THEY ARE ABSORBED INTO FEDERAL BUSH AREA WITHOUT IMPINGING ON GOVERNMENTAL ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE.

3. ALTHOUGH AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION, PARTICULARLY OF CARBOHYDRATES, IS APPARENTLY INCREASING, ECONOMY REMAINS ALMOST STAGNANT. MAIN DETERRENTS ARE LACK OF TRANSPORT, MARKETING FACILITIES AND CREDIT.

4. IN GENERAL FEDERAL IBOLAND AT PRESENT SEEMS TO CONTAIN ONLY A TINY MINORITY OF ACTIVE SUPPORTERS OF EITHER SIDE, WITH VAST MAJORITY OF PEOPLE TRYING TO AVOID ACTION WHICH COULD INVOLVE THEM IN PUNITIVE ACTION BY OTHER SIDE. SENTIMENTALLY, MAJORITY PROBABLY SYMPATHETIC WITH BROTHERS WITHIN ENCLAVE, BUT THIS DOES NOT RPT NOT NECESSARILY MEAN ENDORSEMENT OF OJUKWU'S CONTINUING QUEST FOR POLITICAL INDEPENDENCE AT WHATEVER COST. MOST WILL APPARENTLY AWAIT A MORE DECISIVE TURN OF EVENTS BEFORE OPENLY COMMITTING THEMSELVES TO EITHER SIDE, ALTHOUGH FMG CONTINUES MAKE EFFORTS INDUCE IBOS RETURN TO FOLD.

5. AIRGRAM FOLLOWS.
GP-4.
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EUR/AIS: RM Beaudry/ld
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TEL. EXT.: 20682
APPROVED BY: *RM*
EUR/AIS: Robert M. Beaudry

CLEARANCES:

EUR - Mr. *Garson*

S/S - O- G. Malone *sm*

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DRAFTED BY:EUR/AIS:EMBEAUDRY
APPROVED BY:EUR/AIS:ROBERT M BEAUDRY
EUR:MR CARSON
S/S:G MALONE

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC
TO AMEMBASSY ROME

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S E C R E T STATE 195055

EXD: S

FOLLOWING SENT ACTION LAGOS INFO LONDON AND PARIS
FROM SECSTATE 20 NOV 69

QTESTATE 195055

EXDVS

FOR AMBASSADOR

REF: A) ROME 7251 B) LONDON 9217 C) PARIS 17552 D) PARIS 17633

SUBJ: TALKS WITH THE BRITISH AND FRENCH

1. IT EVIDENT FROM REPORTS OF UNDER SECRETARY'S AND BRUBECK'S MEETINGS IN LONDON AND PARIS THAT BOTH BRITISH AND FRENCH VERY CAUTIOUS ABOUT EXERTING INFLUENCE ON THE TWO SIDES. HOWEVER, BOTH CLEARLY INTERESTED IN CONTINUING TALKS WITH US ON SUBJECT OF HOW BEST BRING ABOUT NEGOTIATED END TO CONFLICT. BOTH AGREED IT IN ALL OUR INTERESTS AVOID MILITARY OVERRUN OF ENCLAVE WITH ALL THAT COULD ENTAIL. NEVERTHELESS, IT CLEAR FRENCH AND BRITISH EACH REMAIN COMMITTED TO INTERESTS OF SIDE IT SUPPORTS.

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2. WE BELIEVE GREATEST VALUE FROM TALKS WAS WILLINGNESS BOTH BRITISH AND FRENCH TO CONTINUE PEACE-SEEKING DIALOGUE WITH US. WE EXPECT HAVE PERIODIC DISCUSSIONS WITH VIEW TO BRINGING INFLUENCE BRITISH AND FRENCH TO BEAR ON TWO SIDES WHEN IT CAN DO MOST GOOD.

3. DEPT INFORMED BY AMB. IYALLA THAT ARIKPO PLANNING TRIP TO PARIS NEAR FUTURE. BELIEVE IT WOULD BE VERY USEFUL IF YOU COULD SEEK OPPORTUNITY GIVE ARIKPO JUDICIOUSLY LIMITED REPORT ON FRENCH ATTITUDE WITH INDICATION WE BELIEVE FRENCH WOULD BE RECEPTIVE TO CONSTRUCTIVE SUGGESTIONS FROM FMG ON HOW NEGOTIATED END TO STRUGGLE MIGHT BEST BE ACHIEVED. IYALLA WAS GIVEN SUCH A BRIEFING HERE BUT BELIEVE ARIKPO SHOULD BEAR THIS DIRECTLY.

4. BELIEVE IT WOULD BE HELPFUL IN DISCUSSING OUR TALK WITH FRENCH TO REFER BACK TO ARIKPO'S URGING HERE THAT WE WORK ON FRENCH. YOU SHOULD INDICATE TO HIM OUR TALK VERY EXPLORATORY BUT WE BELIEVE USEFUL AS FIRST STEP IN MOVING FRENCH TO MORE COOPERATIVE ATTITUDE. YOU SHOULD ALSO STRESS TO ARIKPO FRENCH PREOCCUPATION WITH IBO SECURITY AND OUR SENSE THAT FRENCH FLEXIBILITY RE-NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT WILL PROBABLY DEPEND ON WHETHER ARRANGEMENTS FOR SECURITY AND RESETTLEMENT OF IBOS PROVIDES RESPECTABLE BASIS FOR IBOS (AND INCIDENTALLY FOR FRENCH) TO END WAR. BELIEVE IT IMPORTANT, THEREFORE, THAT ARIKPO CONVINCE FRENCH OF NIGERIAN UNDERSTANDING OF SECURITY AND RESETTLEMENT PROBLEM AND STRESS NIGERIAN WILLINGNESS BE CONCILIATORY THIS ISSUE, E.G., AMNESTY AND OBSERVER FORCE OFFERS, IBO POLICE OFFER, ETC.

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ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS

INFO: Amembassy LONDON
" PARIS

EXDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR

Ref: A) Rome 7251 B) London 9217 C) Paris 17552 D) Paris 17633

Subj: Talks with the British and French

1. It evident from reports of Under Secretary's and Brubeck's meetings in London and Paris that both British and French very cautious about exerting influence on the two sides. However, both clearly interested in continuing talks with US on subject of how best bring about negotiated end to conflict. Both agreed it in all our interests avoid military overrun of enclave with all that could entail. Nevertheless, it clear French and British each remain committed to interests of side it supports.

2. We believe greatest value from talks was willingness both British and French to continue peace-seeking dialogue with us. We expect have periodic discussions with view to bringing influence British and French to bear on two sides when it can do most good.

3. Dept informed by Amb. Iyalla that Arikpo planning trip to Paris

DRAFTED BY: <i>AF/SN:GSHerry/WHBrubeck:ba</i>	DRAFTING DATE 11/19/69	TEL. EXT. 23321	APPROVED BY: AF - David D. Newsom
CLEARANCES: S/S- MLevitsky	EUR - Mr. Springsteen		

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4-68

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ACTION: LAGOS INFO LONDON PARIS PAGE 2 EXDIS

near future. Believe it would be very useful if you could seek opportunity give Arikpo judiciously limited report on French attitude with indication we believe French would be receptive to constructive suggestions from FMG on how negotiated end to struggle might best be achieved. Iyalla was given such a briefing here but believe Arikpo should hear this directly.

4. Believe it would be helpful in discussing our talk with French to refer back to Arikpo's urging here that we work on French. You should indicate to him our talk very exploratory but we believe useful as first step in moving French to more cooperative attitude. You should also stress to Arikpo French preoccupation with Ibo security and our sense that French flexibility re negotiated settlement will probably depend on whether arrangements for security and resettlement of Ibos provides respectable basis for Ibos (and incidentally for French) to end war. Believe it important, therefore, that Arikpo convince French of Nigerian understanding of security and resettlement problem and stress Nigerian willingness be conciliatory this issue, e.g., amnesty and observer force offers, Ibo police offer, etc.
END.

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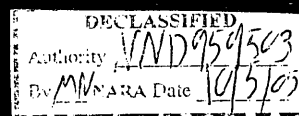
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Origin	ACTION: Amembassy PARIS
	" LAGOS
Info:	" LONDON
	" USUN, NEW YORK

Subject: Under Secretary's Conversation with French FonMin
Schumann, November 12, 1969: Nigeria/Biafra

Following is cleared memorandum of conversation on above
subject:

(OCT: Please transmit Paris 17552, EXDIS, dated
November 12, to above addressees.)

[ROGERS]

Drafted by:
S/S-S:WBrandt:fh

Tel. Ext.

Telegraphic transmission and
classification approved by:

S/S - Mr. Brown

Clearance:

U - Mr. Abramowitz

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INFO: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA
" LAGOS
" LONDON
" PARIS
USMission GENEVA
USUN

195019

Subj: Italian View of Under Secretary's Talks on Nigeria with British and French

1. Italian Embassy here, apparently under impression from Rome that US had attempted launch new negotiating initiative in Nigerian situation has demonstrated great interest in recent talks. Italians received report from their Embassy in Paris which reflected fairly accurately Nov. 12 Richardson-Schumann talks. However, as they thought we were asking for active British and French intervention with their respective clients, Italians characterized French response as wholly negative.
2. Deptoffs attempted put discussions with French, as well as British, in proper perspective, pointing out it never our intention propose immediate action on part either but merely sound out each on willingness use influence constructively when time seems propitious. Italians told in our opinion, both were responsive but cautious. They told

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GBSherry:ba
DRAFTING DATE: 11/19/69
TEL. EXT.: 23321
APPROVED BY: AF/SN - William H. Brubec
CLEARANCES: EUR/AIS-Mr. Johnson S/S- Mr. Levitsky

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British tend feel exploratory lower level discussions useful and that British looked with some interest on idea of mediator while French feel it would be more useful have sympathetic high level friends of both sides dealing on behalf each principal. It was made clear that in view of obvious interest of Africans in keeping others from injecting themselves now, we had no intention of suggesting any non-African initiatives in prospective Addis negotiation.

3. Discussion seemed to reassure the Italians there no identifiable American plan we trying to put into effect. They expressed understanding of what we trying to do with British and French.

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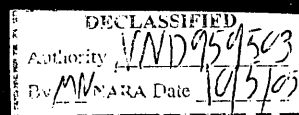
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ACTION SS-45

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INFO OCT-01 /046 W

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R 191500Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1622

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 5164

EXDIS

REF: ADDIS 5129

1. LIBERIAN AMBASSADOR COX, WHO RETURNING MONROVIA FOR CONSULTATION NOV. 22 TOLD ME THIS MORNING KETEMA HAD ASSURED HIM NIGERIAN TALKS WOULD NOT BEGIN UNTIL MID-DEC. PRESENT PLAN IS TO HAVE TALKS OUTSIDE ADDIS, POSSIBLY AT HIM PALACE DEBRE ZEIT OR AT GALILA PALACE KOKA DAM. LATTER SITE COULD BE CORDONED OFF FROM PUBLIC AND PRESS AND SURROUNDINGS CONDUCIVE NEGOTIATION AND AGREEMENT. IEG HOPES TO CONTROL PUBLICITY AND AVOID CONTINUING LEAKAGES FROM BOTH SIDES WHICH OCCURED LAST MEETING ADDIS.

2. COX NOT AT ALL SURE BIAFRANS WANT TALKS AND BELIEVES ARRANGEMENT MAY FALL APART BEFORE MID-DEC, ESPECIALLY IF PACE OF FIGHTING STEPS UP.
HALL

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 7663
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

S E C R E T ACCRA 3962

NOFORN

SUBJ: NIGERIAN-BIAFRAN NEGOTIATIONS

1. IN PAST WEEK WE HAVE NOT BEEN ABLE TO GET AUTHORITATIVE
GOG READ-OUT ON CURRENT GHANAIAAN ACTIVITIES RE NIGERIA.
GHANAIAAN INITIATIVES ON NIGERIA NOW EMANATING FROM SMALL HIGH-
LEVEL GROUP INCLUDING BUSIA, AFRIFA, FONMIN OWUSU AND PP GEN.
SEC. DA ROCHA (DA ROCHA RAISED IN NIGERIA AND KNOWS MANY OF KEY
FIGURES ON BOTH SIDES). MINEXTAFF APPEARS GENERALLY UNINFORMED
ON WHAT IS HAPPENING.

2. PP ADMIN. SEC. KWAME BIDDIER (WHO IS CLOSE ASSOCIATE OF
DA ROCHA) HAS TOLD EMBOFF THAT BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES INCLUDING
CHIEF JUSTICE MBANEFO ARE IN REGULAR CONTACT WITH DR. BUSIA AS
ARE FMG REPS. MBANEFO HAS SECRETLY MET BUSIA ON SEVERAL OCCASIONS
IN PAST TWO MONTHS (ACCORDING BIDDIER, MBANEFO FELLOW STUDENT
OF BUSIA'S IN LONDON). GHANAIAAN OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN TO BRING
TWO SIDES TOGETHER IN ACCRA.

3. AFTER DISCUSSIONS WITH MBANEFO AND LOME MEETING WITH GOWON,
GHANAIAANS THOUGHT THEY HAD SECURED AGREEMENT FROM BOTH SIDES TO
MEET IN ACCRA. BIDDIER SAID HE UNDERSTOOD HOWEVER HIM FELT THAT
ANY SUCH MEETING SHOULD TAKE PLACE UNDER HIS AUSPICES IN ADDIS.

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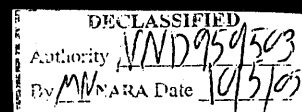
AS CONSEQUENCE, OWUSU, DA ROCHA AND NIGERIAN REPRESENTATIVES HAD TO PROCEED TO ADDIS WHERE BIDDIER THOUGHT THEY WERE EITHER TO BE JOINED BY BIAFRANS OR SECURE HIM'S ACQUIESCENCE TO PRIVATE NIGERIAN-BIAFRAN CONTACTS IN ACCRA.

4. BIDDIER SAID THAT BUSIA'S INFORMAL CONVERSATIONS WITH MBANEFO HAD GONE WELL AND GHANAIS SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGED BY CURRENT STATE OF PLAY. HOWEVER, GHANAIS HAVE COME TO CONCLUSION MAJOR OBSTACLE TO PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IS OJUKWU. THEY FEAR OJUKWU WILL IN ONE FASHION OR ANOTHER "TORPEDO" CURRENT EFFORTS TO BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER AS HE HAS DONE IN PAST. IN THAT REGARD, BIDDIER SAID GHANAIS AND OTHER INTERMEDIARIES HAD EARLIER THOUGHT THEY HAD SECURED MUTUAL AGREEMENT TO CEASE FIRE AND BEGINNING OF NEGOTIATIONS SCHEDULED FOR LAST SEPT. 23. HOWEVER, OJUKWU HAD SABOTAGED THAT EFFORT AND GHANAIS FEAR HE WILL DO THE SAME THING AGAIN.

5. COMMENT: BIDDIER IS NOT DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN GHANAIAN EFFORTS RE NIGERIA. HIS COMMENTS ARE UNDOUBTEDLY BASED ON SECOND-HAND REPORTS WHICH HE HAD GOTTEN FROM DA ROCHA AND OTHER RANKING PP OFFICIALS. HIS COMMENTS PARTICULARLY RE AGREEMENT ON SEPT. 23 CEASEFIRE MAY THEREFORE REFLECT GHANAIAN HOPES AT THAT TIME, NOT REAL SITUATION.
MCELHINEY

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The seal of the United States Department of State is located in the top right corner of the document. It features an eagle with a shield on its chest, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a constellation of stars above its head. The words "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" are inscribed around the border of the seal.

POL 27-14 Biafra-Nigeria
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION SS-45

INFO OCT-01 1046 W

R 171503Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1599

022131

S E C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5129

EXDIS

DEPT PASS ACCRA, LAGOS, ELSEWHERE AS DESIRED.

SUBJECT: NIGERIA PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

1. I ASKED HIM TODAY AFTER CINCSTRIKE AUDIENCE HOW HE SAW CURRENT DEVELOPMENTS NIGERIA SITUATION. HIM INDICATED LONG-TERM SITUATION NOT COMPLETELY CLEAR THIS POINT BUT HE REMAINED OPTIMISTIC SOME WAY WOULD BE FOUND BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER.

2. FONMIN KETEMA LATER TOLD ME IN CONFIDENCE IT HAD NOW BEEN AGREED BOTH SIDES THAT TALKS WOULD BE HELD, PRESUMABLY AT LEVEL BELOW GOWON AND OJUKWU. THESE WOULD TAKE PLACE AFTER RAMADAN IN ORDER ACCOMMODATE RELIGIOUS VIEWS FMG. BOTH SIDES AGREED ON ADDIS ABABA SITE.

3. KETEMA SAID: ARIKPO VISIT ADDIS HAD PLAYED ROLE IN FINAL EFFORT THIS ARRANGEMENT. VISIT GHANA FOMMIN HAD BEEN SOLELY GHANIAN PITCH TO HOLD TALKS IN ACCRA. KETEMA SAID GOWON HAD FORMALLY VETOED ACCRA AS RESULT BUSIA'S WRITING LETTER PROPOSING HE (BUSIA) MEDIATE BETWEEN PARTIES OUTSIDE FRAMEWORK OAU RESOLUTION. GHANA FOREIGN MINISTER DID NOT ADVISE HIM THIS PITCH DURING HIS VISIT ADDIS AND IEG ONLY LEARNED OF IT FROM ARIKPO. IN RESPONSE MY QUERY KETEMA SAID: HIM WOULD HAVE TO PERMIT OAU SYG TELL HIM SIT IN ON TALKS BUT WOULD SIT ON HIM TO KEEP HIM QUIET.

4. COMMENT: PERIOD BETWEEN NOW AND END RAMADAN ALLOWS

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PAGE 02 ADDIS 05129 180521Z

PLENTY OF TIME FOR SLIPPAGE AND LEAKAGE. URGE WE CONTINUE
AVOID COMMENT OR LEAK AS TELLI AND OTHER WOULD ENJOY BLAMING
US FOR FAILURE TALKS.
HALL

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LIMDIS

FOR AMBASSADOR FERGUSON

1. Augmentation our Biafran relief effort still
Many
receiving top-level review. ~~Some~~ your recommendations
getting sympathetic consideration but not possible yet
~~to~~ reach firm decisions.
2. In meetings with Hague Group and ICRC representatives,
you will therefore have ~~to~~ confine discussions to general
exchange views. Meanwhile, make no REPEAT NO commitments
at this time re provision additional support to relief
organizations or additional C-97's. You should say as
little as possible on subject C-97's. Particularly,
you should ask ICRC take no action on disposition C-97's
pending further expression US views.

END

DRAFTED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr. DRAFTING DATE: 11/17/69 TEL. EXT.: 23256 APPROVED BY: U/CF:JWFoley, Jr.

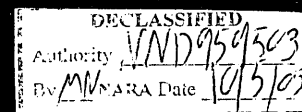
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ACTION AF-18

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P 170700Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 1589
INFO AMEMBASSY ACCRA PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L ADDIS ABABA 5111

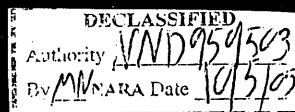
REF: ACCRA 3901 ✓

1. OFFICIAL ENGLISH LANGUAGE ETHIOPIAN HERALD NOV 15 FRONT-PAGED BRIEF NOTICE GHANAIA FOMIN OWUSU AND PROGRESS PARTY SEC GEN DA ROCHA HAD AUDIENCE WITH HIM AFTER ARRIVAL ADDIS NOV 14. PAPER NOTED ENVOYS HAD SPECIAL MESSAGE FROM GHANAIA PRIMIN RE NIGERIA BUT GAVE NO DETAILS.

2. GHANAIA EMB COUNSELOR AFARI (PROTECT SOURCE) INFORMS US THIS MORNING AGREED DURING YESTERDAY'S AUDIENCE PEACE TALKS BETWEEN TWO SIDES (PRESUMABLY LOW-LEVEL) WOULD BE CONVENED ACCRA WITHIN NEXT FORTNIGHT IF FMG MESSAGE BEING DELIVERED TO HIM BY ARIKPO TOMORROW FAVORABLE. AFARI EITHER HAD NO INFORMATION OR WITHHELD SPECIFIC CONFIRMATION HIM HAS RECEIVED SPECIFIC GO-AHEAD FROM OJUKWU THROUGH SOME CHANNEL. WE HAVE BEEN UNABLE CONTACT SENIOR ETHIOPIANS FOR FURTHER FILL-IN BUT WILL DO SO FIRST OPPORTUNITY.
HALL

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

CONFIDENTIAL 637

PAGE 01 ABIDJA 03161 121136Z

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ACTION AF 18

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ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, UCF 05, UPW 01, RSR 01, /160 W
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R 160948Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4779
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
USMISSION GENEVA
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK

C O N F I D E N T I A L ABIDJAN 3161

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA

1. DURING MY FINAL CALL ON HOUPHOUET NOVEMBER 11 HE SAID THAT DESPITE APPARENTLY DISCOURAGING PUBLIC STATEMENTS BY TWO SIDES, HE FELT SECRET TALKS WERE MAKING PROGRESS TOWARD ENDING WAR. ALSO FELT OTHER AFRICAN LEADERS NOW BETTER UNDERSTOOD REASONS FOR HOUPHOUET'S POSITION, AS HE NOW THE ONLY RPT ONLY ONE WHO CAN MEDIATE EFFECTIVELY WITH OUUKWU. ADDED THAT OAU HAD GOT STUCK WITH FORMULA OF "ONE NIGERIA" WITHOUT MAKING CLEAR THAT THERE ARE VARIOUS POSSIBLE FORMS OF UNITY. SAID SETTLEMENT WOULD REQUIRE MORE SUPPLE FORMULA THAT FEDERATION AS ORIGINALLY CONSTITUTED.

2. SINCE HOUPHOUET STRESSED SECRECY I DID NOT PROBE FOR DETAILS ON NEGOTIATIONS. EXPRESSED ONCE MORE USG APPRECIATION FOR HIS RECEIVING BRUBECK AND FERGUSON.
GP-3
MORGAN

*Abidjan 3161
11-16-69*

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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RSC 01, /061 W

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R 141329Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1570
INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS
USMISSION NATO
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION USUN NY

S E I C R E T ADDIS ABABA 5090

LIMDIS:

SUBJ: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

REF: STATE 186906

1. BRIEFED PRIMIN AKLILU RELIEF DEVELOPMENTS TODAY (NOV 14)
(REFTEL).

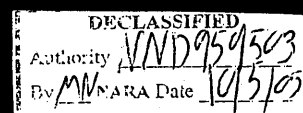
2. IN RESPONSE QUERY STATUS HIM INITIATIVE, HE SAID ALTHOUGH
FMG HAD NOT FORMALLY RESPONDED IT HIS IMPRESSION FMG PREPARED
TALK BUT BIAFRA HAD NOW SHIFTED BACK DEMAND CEASEFIRE BEFORE
TALKS. THUS PROPOSAL FROM OJUKWU FORWARDED GOWON BY HIM VIA
FONMIN KETEMA NO LONGER VALID. IEG WOULD CONTINUE EFFORT
HOWEVER.

3. AKLILU MADE NO MENTION FORTHCOMING ARIKPO VISIT (LAGOS 9912)
AND I DID NOT RAISE IN VIEW ETHIOPIAN SENSITIVITY RE PRIVACY
THESE EXCHANGES. HE SUGGESTED, HOWEVER, I DISCUSS FURTHER WITH
KETEMA WHO RETURNED FROM NAIROBI YESTERDAY. WILL DO SO NEXT
FEW DAYS, HOPEFULLY INCLUDING INSIDE BRIEF ARIKPO VISIT.
INCIDENTALLY,
NIGERIAN EMBASSY HERE STATES ARIKPO PREPARED FOR EXTENDED STAY ADDIS
IF USEFUL IN CONTEXT HIM PEACE EFFORT.

HALL

SECRET

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18-10
ACTION UCF 05

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, AF 12, PM 05, NSC 10, SS 20, RSC 01, INR 07, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, RSR 01, /082 W

128732

R 131205Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3148

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 7362

REF: ROME 7361

SUBJECT: BIAFRA.

SUBSEQUENT TO UNDER SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION WITH FOREIGN OFFICE UNDERSECRETARY PEDINI ON BIAFRA (REFTEL). ACTING SECRETARY GENERAL FOREIGN OFFICE GAJA TOLD CHARGE NOV. 12 THAT WHILE IT MAY BE PEDINI'S VIEW THAT BIAFRA HAD REACHED LIMITS OF ITS CONCESSIONS, THIS WAS ENTIRELY PERSONAL VIEW OF PEDINI AND DID NOT REPRESENT FOREIGN OFFICE VIEW. GAJA ADDED THAT AS RESULT OF UNDER SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION, PEDINI HAD INSTRUCTED THAT MESSAGE BE SENT TO ITALIAN AMBASSADOR IN PARIS REQUESTING THAT HE URGE FRENCH GOVERNMENT TO USE ITS INFLUENCE WITH BIAFRA. GAJA COMMENTED SONEWHAT WRYLY THAT WHILE HE WAS WILLING TO SEND TELEGRAMS ANYWHERE PEDINI DESIRED, HE DOUBTED GOI WOULD BE ABLE TO HAVE MUCH INFLUENCE ON SITUATION. GP-4. STABLER

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POL 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria
XR POL 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

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ACTION SS 45

INFO OCT 01 1946 W

R 131715Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8816

S E C R E T PARIS 17633

EXDIS

DEPARTMENT PASS AS DESIRED

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: BRUBECK TALK WITH LEBEL *POL 57-14 Enigma - Nigeria*

REF: LONDON 9211 POL 27-9 Biafra - Nigeria

1. SUMMARY: QUAL DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA-MIDDLE EAST LEBEL WAS RESPONSIVE TO PROPOSITION PRESENTED BY BRUBECK ABOUT PEACEFUL SOLUTION TO NIGERIA/ABIA/AFRA DISPUTE. THOUGH TENOR OF HIS EXPOSITION WAS POSITIVE, LEBEL OFFERED NO NEW OPENINGS IN RECOGNIZED FRENCH POSITION; GENERAL AGREEMENT ON OBJECTIVES, WILLINGNESS TO TALK FURTHER, BUT FIRM POSTURE OF REMAINING IN THE WINGS ON QUESTION OF OFFERING SUPPORT FOR NEGOTIATIONS BY BELLIGERENTS. LEBEL SAID FRANCE IS NOT IN POSITION TO MAKE ANY ADVANCE PROMISES OR COMMITMENT TO INDUCE NEGOTIATIONS, BUT COULD JOIN IN ONGOING PROJECT SHOULD ONE OCCUR. END SUMMARY

2. DIRECTOR SPECIAL STAFF NIGERIA BRUBECK MET NOV 12 WITH
QUAI DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA-MIDEAST LEBEL TO FOLLOW UP DISCUSSION
NIGERIA/DIAFRA BETWEEN UNDER SECRETARY AND FONMIN SCHUMANN
(PARIS 17552). LEBEL OPENED CONVERSATION BY NOTING THAT TALK
BETWEEN UNDER SECRETARY AND FONMIN CONTAINED NOTHING NEW ABOUT
OUR RESPECTIVE ATTITUDES ON BIAFRA-NIGERIA CONFLICT
AND ITS RESOLUTION. BRUBECK THEN PRESENTED PROPOSAL OUTLINED
REFTEL TO WHICH LEBEL LISTENED CAREFULLY AND RESPONDED FULLY,
ALBEIT WITHOUT ANY REAL CHANGE IN FRENCH POSITION. LEBEL REMARKED
THAT FRENCH AND AMERICAN OBJECTIVES ARE IN AGREEMENT, AT SAME
TIME INJECTING NUANCE THAT FRENCH POSITION WAS BASED ON VIABLE
SOLUTION FOR PEOPLES INVOLVED RATHER THAN INSTITUTIONS REPRE-

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SENTED BY BELLIGERENTS. HE DEPLORED UNGAINLY MANEUVERS OF DIALLO
TELL, PARTICULARLY HIS UNTIMELY VISIT TO FREETOWN, AND OFFERED
THOUGHT THAT HIM IS PERHAPS NOT AS MUCH ON HIS OWN AS ONE COULD
WISH.

3. IN A POSITIVE VEIN LEBEL SAID THAT FRENCH ARE SURE THAT GHANA PRIME MINISTER KOFI BUSIA WILL MAKE AN APPROACH TO HELP SOLVE PROBLEM AND THEY HAD ALSO RECEIVED INFORMATION THAT GOWON-EYADEMA-AFRIFA TALKS IN LOME ON 9 NOVEMBER WERE ALL ON BIAFRA. HE SAID NOTHING FURTHER TO SUBSTANTIATE THIS INFORMATION, BUT USED IT TO SUPPORT THESIS THAT MORE AFRICAN COUNTRIES ARE CHANGING THEIR ATTITUDE TOWARDS BIAFRAN CRISIS. HE SAID DURING VISIT OF IVORIAN FOREIGN MINISTER USHER TO PARIS TWO WEEKS AGO, USHER MADE CLEAR THAT IVORIAN POSITION AND OPINION IS SHIFTING TO MORE FLEXIBLE ATTITUDE ABOUT EVENTUAL OUTCOME OF CONFLICT. LEBEL ADDED THAT HE HAD RECEIVED THAT VERY DAY REPORT FROM YAOUNDE THAT AHIDJO IS SHIFTING, AND EMPHASIZED IMPORTANCE OF AHIDJO AS LEADER IN FRANCOPHONE AFRICA. TSIRANANA WAS ALSO MENTIONED AS CHANGEING HIS OPINION ABOUT BIAFRA. LEBEL CLEARLY LABELED CHANGE AS MOVING IN DIRECTION OF PEACE IN NIGERIA.

4. LABEL COMPLAINED THAT IT IS SO DIFFICULT TO FIND OUT EXACTLY WHAT POSITION OF TWO PARTIES IS, THAT FRENCH ARE IN FACT NOT ALWAYS REALLY SURE WHERE GOWON OR OJUKWU STAND. FRENCH ARE CONVINCED, HOWEVER, THAT GOWON DOES WANT TO NEGOTIATE, BUT HE IS NOT ALONE MASTER OF HIS HOUSE. FRENCH BELIEVE THAT THERE CAN BE NO MILITARY VICTORY AND THAT NEGOTIATIONS ARE THEREFORE NECESSARY. LABEL CITED CONVERSATION WITH COOKEY LAST WEEK AS SUPPORT FOR FRENCH BELIEF THAT BIAFRANS WILL GO TO NEGOTIATING TABLE WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS AND THAT "WITH A PINCH OF LUCK, IT WILL HAPPEN BEFORE THE END OF THE YEAR". HERE HE NOTED THAT USHER HAS IN MIND PROPOSING A CHRISTMAS TRUCE.

5. FRENCH SEE SITUATION GOING IN RIGHT DIRECTION AND FEEL IT IS NOT THEIR ROLE TO PUSH TOO HARD. LEBEL SAID FRENCH WILL BE MOST DISCREET IN ANY APPROACH TO AFRICANS ON THIS QUESTION, FEELING THAT AFRICANS SHOULD KNOW THAT FRANCE IS THERE TO HELP, AND THAT IS ALL. FRANCE THEREFORE WOULD NOT DO ANYTHING AT THE MOMENT, PREFERRING TO WAIT AND SEE HOW WIND BLOWS AND PRESENT NEGOTIATION INITIATIVES PROCEED, BEFORE GOING ANY FURTHER. FRANCE WOULD OFFER POLITICAL SUPPORT TO HOLDING OF NEGOTIATIONS, BUT COULD NOT DO ANYTHING MORE. FRANCE IS NOT IN POSITION TO MAKE ANY ADVANCE

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PROMISES OR TO MAKE ANY KIND OF OFFER FOR POST-WAR HELP AND RESETTLEMENT TO INDUCE NEGOTIATIONS BETWEEN BIAFRA AND NIGERIA, BUT THEY COULD PROBABLY JOIN AN ONGOING PROJECT ONCE IT STARTED. LEBEL SAID THAT FRANCE HAS NO LINE IN ITS BUDGET FOR THIS PURPOSE AND THAT FUNDS THUS ARE DRAWN FROM THE PRESIDENT'S CHARGE COMMUNE "A COLOSSAL SMALL SUM FOR PRESENT SUPPORT TO BIAFRA FROM THE FRENCH GOVERNMENT. MOST OF THE MONEY COMES FROM APPEALS TO PUBLIC CHARITY".

6. LABEL WAS RECEPTIVE TO IDEA OF AFRICAN MEDIATOR, BUT RESTATED HIS PREFERENCE FOR TEAM OF NEGOTIATORS WHO WOULD BE OBVIOUS REPRESENTATIVES OF PARTIES TO DISPUTE RATHER THAN IMPARTIAL MEDIATOR. HE DID, HOWEVER, PROMISE TO CONSIDER THIS MORE CLOSELY AND TRY TO DRAW UP SHORT LIST OF POSSIBLE CANDIDATES FOR SUCH TASK TO BE DISCUSSED AT OUR NEXT MEETING. LABEL AGREED THAT HOUPHOUET AND HIM SHOULD PROBABLY BE ONES TO PICK MEDIATOR, BUT CAUTIONED THAT HOUPHOUET DOES NOT WANT TO BE ON FRANT STAGE IN ARRANGING SETTLEMENT. HE EMPHASIZED NECESSITY OF "SECRET" CHARACTER OF SUCH MANEUVERING, NOTING THAT MEDIATOR REALLY IMPLIES "PUBLIC" ACTIVITY.

7. COMMENT: THOUGH LEBEL HIMSELF DID NOT OFFER ANYTHING NEW ON THE SPOT, HE DEFINITELY ENCOURAGED CLOSER COOPERATION ON PROCEDURES LEADING TO NEGOTIATION AND CONTINUATION OUR TALKS ON THIS SUBJECT. HIS DESCRIPTION OF SHIFTING VIEWS FRANCOPHONE AFRICAN STATES MORE CLOSELY ASSOCIATED WITH FRANCE'S POLICY IN AFRICA IS IN ITSELF ENCOURAGING. IT IS ALSO LIKELY THAT LEBEL HIMSELF PROBABLY COULD NOT GO ANY FURTHER BEFORE CHECKING WITH ELYSEE (ESPECIALLY FOCCART'S OFFICE). WE SHOULD GIVE HIM A CHANCE TO DO SO BEFORE RESUMING OUR CONTACTS. GP-3.

SHRIVER

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ACTION: AF 18

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AMEMBASSY LOME
AMEMBASSY LONDON

C O N F I D E N T I A L LAGOS 9911

SUBJ: NIGERIA AND GHANA

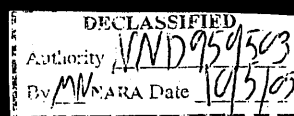
1. UKHICOMER TRIED TO DRAW OUT ARIKPO TODAY ON LOME TALKS.

2. ARIKPO WOULD ONLY SAY THAT TALKS GAVE AFRIKA
OPPORTUNITY TO EXPLAIN BUSIA'S POINT OF VIEW IN MORE
MODERATE AND REASONABLE LANGUAGE. THIS HAD BEEN USEFUL
SINCE BUSIA'S ORIGINAL LETTER HAD CAUSED IRRITATION IN
HIGH NIGERIAN QUARTERS.

3. COMMENT: ON OCTOBER 10 GHANAIAN FONMIN OWUSU BROUGHT
GOWON A LETTER FROM BUSIA. CAS HEARD AT THE TIME THAT
GOWON HAD BEEN PUT OUT BY THE TONE OF THE LETTER, WHICH
REPORTEDLY STRONGLY URGED CEASEFIRE ON FMG. GP-3.
TRUEHEART

CONFIDENTIAL

0403



66



POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State

TELEGRAM

*Telegram 9912
11-13-69*

SECRET 720

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03,
NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, ACDA 18, UCF 05,
UPW 01, RSR 01, /141 W

129678

P R 131630Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9944
INFO AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ACCRA
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

S E C R E T LAGOS 9912

SUBJECT: HIM'S PEACE MOVE

REF: LAGOS 9857

1. ARIKPO TOLD UKHICOMER TODAY THAT HE WOULD BE TAKING GOWON'S WRITTEN REPLY TO HIM IN ADDIS ON SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 15.
2. ARIKPO SAID REPLY QUESTIONED OJUKWU'S SINCERITY AND DESIRE TO HAVE MEANINGFUL TALKS, QUOTING SEVERAL OF OJUKWU'S RECENT PUBLIC UTTERANCES.
3. REPLY SAID, HOWEVER, THAT FMG STILL READY TO ENTER INTO TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS, BUT THEY WERE NOT WILLING TO AGREE TO CEASE-FIRE.
4. IN RESPONSE TO QUERY ABOUT WHAT SORT OF TALKS HE ENVISIONED AND WHERE, ARIKPO SAID THAT IF THEY TOOK PLACE THEY WOULD PRESUMABLY BE INITIALLY BETWEEN

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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OFFICIALS. POSSIBLE PLACES WERE MONROVIA, ADDIS
OR NIAMEY, BUT RECENTLY BUSIA HAD OFFERED ACCRA.

5. ARIKPO COMMENTED THAT FMG HAD ALL ALONG SAID THEY
WERE WILLING TO TALK AND DID NOT INTEND TO ABANDON
REASONABLE POSTURE AT THIS STATE. GP-3
TRUEHEART

SECRET

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By	MNARA Date 10/3/05

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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14
ACTION UCF 01

INFO OCT 01, SS 20, SR 01, PM 03, AF 05, EUR 12, INR 06, NSC 10, CIAE 00,

DODE 00, RSC 01, RSR 01, /061 W

127917

R 131150Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ROME
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 3147

C O N F I D E N T I A L ROME 7361

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY'S CONVERSATION WITH
ITALIAN UNDERSECRETARY PEDINI - BIAFRA

1. DURING DISCUSSIONS NOVEMBER 12 WITH FONOFF UNDERSECRETARY PEDINI, UNDER SECRETARY RAISED QUESTION OF BIAFRA AND SAID THAT WE WERE MAKING CONCERTED EFFORTS TO BRING NIGERIA AND BIAFRA TOGETHER TO DISCUSS PEACE SETTLEMENT.

2. PEDINI INDICATED THAT IN GOI VIEW BIAFRA HAD ABOUT REACHED LIMITS OF ITS CONCESSIONS AND IT WAS NOW UP TO NIGERIA TO SHOW CONCILIATORY ATTITUDE. GOI CONSIDERED THAT KEY TO PROBLEM WAS IN LONDON, AND INSTRUCTIONS WERE BEING SENT TO ITALIAN AMBASSADOR IN LONDON TO DISCUSS QUESTION WITH FOREIGN OFFICE. MOREOVER, FOREIGN OFFICE WAS CALLING IN NIGERIAN AMBASSADOR IN ROME TO URGE POSITIVE NIGERIAN ATTITUDE. PEDINI ALSO MENTIONED THAT VATICAN IS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN TRYING TO BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER AND IS IN CONTACT WITH BIAFRA.

3. UNDER SECRETARY INDICATED THAT IT WAS OUR INFORMATION THAT GENERAL GOWON WAS NOW PREPARED FOR NIGERIA TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITH BIAFRA WITHOUT PRIOR CONDITIONS. WE CONSIDERED THAT THIS WAS CONSIDERABLE STEP FORWARD FROM ORIGINAL POSITION OF NIGERIA AT TIME OF OAU CONFERENCE. UNDER SECRETARY SAID IT WAS OUR FEELING THAT PARIS WAS NOW KEY TO SITUATION IF IT COULD PERSUADE OJUKWU TO ENTER INTO NEGOTIATIONS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS. UNDER SECRETARY

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Rome 7361
11/13/69

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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MENTIONED THAT HE WOULD BE SEEING FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER SCHUMANN LATER NOVEMBER 12 AND WOULD DISCUSS MATTER WITH HIM.

4. PEDINI SAID FRENCH SHOULD BE CONCERNED ABOUT EARLY SETTLEMENT OF THIS QUESTION, PARTICULARLY BECAUSE OF INCREASING EVIDENCE OF CHINESE COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN BIAFRA. HE ASKED UNDER SECRETARY TO INFORM SCHUMANN OF HIS DISCUSSIONS IN ROME AND INDICATED GOI WOULD CONTINUE TO DO EVERYTHING IT COULD TO ENCOURAGE TWO PARTIES TO NEGOTIATE.

DEPT REPEAT AS DESIRED. GP-2
STABLER

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By	MN NARA Date 10/3/05



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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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Pol 27-14 Biafra - Nigeria

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ACTION AF: 05

INFO OCT 01, SS 20, EUR 12, INR 06, CIAE 00, NSC 10, UCF 01, RSR 01, RSC 01,

/057 W

130113

R 131724Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4227
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY LAGOS

S E C R E T LONDON 9333

LIMDIS

NOFORN

SUBJECT: BRUBECK BRIEFING OF FCO ON UNDER SEC'TY'S PARIS TALKS

1. POL COUNSELOR AND EMBOFF ACCOMPANIED BRUBECK TO FCO MEETING WITH SIR JOHN JOHNSTON, DONALD TEBBIT AND JOHN WILSON. BRUBECK CHARACTERIZED FRENCH PARTICIPANTS UNDER SEC'TY'S PARIS TALKS AS CONGENIAL AND RESPONSIVE BUT WITH NO GIVE AND TAKE. HE SAID NIGERIA DISCUSSED SHORT TIME ONLY BY UNDER SEC'TY AND SCHUMANN BUT HE AND LEBEL WERE ASKED CONTINUE CONVERSATION. THIS LASTED 45 MINUTES. MAIN INTEREST IN LONDON BRIEFING WAS HEIGHTENED INTEREST SHOWN BY FCO IN PROPOSAL OF FINDING THIRD COUNTRY MEDIATOR FOR NIGERIAN CONFLICT. BRITS NOTED WITH SATISFACTION REPORT THAT SCHUMANN HAD TOLD UNDER SEC'TY THAT TIME IN NIGERIA IS ON NO ONE'S SIDE, BUT THE RUSSIANS.

2. BRUBECK SAID FRENCH SHOWED POLITE INTEREST IN MEDIATOR PROPOSAL BUT PREFERRED WAIT TO SEE WHAT HAPPENS WITHIN NEXT FEW WEEKS. THEY RENEWED THEIR SUGGESTION FOR MEETING OF TWO HEADS OF STATE, ONE EACH FRIENDLY TO EACH SIDE, FOR NEGOTIATIONS. JOHNSTON THOUGHT THIS IDEA A NON-STARTER. SAID NO HEAD OF STATE WOULD BE ABLE UNDERTAKE SERIOUS NEGOTIATIONS BECAUSE WOULD FEEL HE MUST OBTAIN HIS CLIENT'S ENTIRE POSITION. OTHER OBJECTIONS FROM BRITS BASED ON THEIR KNOWLEDGE FROM ENAHORO

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London 9333
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Authority VND 954503
By MVA Date 10/5/05

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TELEGRAM

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Paris 1755Z
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ACTION SS 45

INFO OCT 01, 1966 W

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P 122132Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHOC PRIORITY 8775

S E C R E T PARIS 1755Z

EXDIS

SUBJECT: UNDER SECRETARY'S MEETING WITH FRENCH FONMIN SCHUMANN;
NIGERIA/BIAFRA

FOLLOWING MEMCON IS UNCLEARED, FYI, NOFORN, AND SUBJECT TO
REVISION UPON REVIEW.

1. DURING MEETING WITH FRENCH FONMIN SCHUMANN NOVEMBER 12,
UNDER SECRETARY RAISED SUBJECT NIGERIA/BIAFRA. HE REVIEWED
BRIEFLY RECENT CONVERSATIONS WE HAVE HAD WITH GOF IN
WASHINGTON AND PARIS, AND STRESSED U.S. FOCUS ON HUMANITARIAN
ASPECTS OF ISSUE. MOST EFFECTIVE WAY TO DEAL WITH HUMANI-
TARIAN PROBLEM, UNDER SECRETARY SAID, IS TO END CONFLICT.
NO ONE'S INTEREST, NEITHER U.S. NOR FRENCH, SERVED BY CONTINUATION
OF FIGHTING. (SCHUMANN INTERJECTED "OH, NO".)

2. UNDER SECRETARY CONTINUED THAT WE WERE NOW ASKING WHAT
WAS BEST WAY SUPPORT EFFORTS OF OTHERS TO THIS END OF
PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT. INDICATIONS THAT GOWON AND FMG
MIGHT BE PREPARED NAME DELEGATION FOR SECOND-LEVEL
TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS WITH SIMILAR BIAFRAN GROUP WERE
MOST HOPEFUL DEVELOPMENT IN LONG TIME. IF THIS UNDERSTANDING
CORRECT, PERHAPS TIME HAD COME FOR GOF EITHER ALONE OR
IN CONCERT WITH HOUPHOUET-BOIGNY TO ENCOURAGE BIAFRANS
RESPOND POSITIVELY TO FMG OVERTURE. UNDER SECRETARY ASKED
WHETHER SCHUMANN SAW OPPORTUNITY IN THIS SITUATION FOR APPROACH
EITHER DIRECTLY OR INDIRECTLY TO BIAFRANS, OR WHETHER THERE
WAS ANY OTHER COOPERATIVE EFFORT WHICH U.S., U.K. AND GOF
COULD COLLECTIVELY UNDERTAKE TO ENSURE THAT TALKS, IF BEGUN,
WOULD PROCEED TO CONSTRUCTIVE RESULT. UNDER SECRETARY NOTED

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Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01,

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /160 W
129173

P R 121651Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9909
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
USMISSION USUN NY
USMISSION GENEVA

S E C R E T LAGOS 9857

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT)

SUBJ: HIM'S PEACE MOVE

REF: LAGOS 8980; LAGOS 9499 (NOTAL)

1. SWISS AMBASSADOR TOLD ME THIS MORNING THAT FMG EXECUTIVE COUNCIL IS SCHEDULED TO CONSIDER TODAY FORMAL REPLY TO MESSAGE FROM ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR RE PEACE TALKS (LAGOS 8980). ACCORDING TO HIS SOURCE, ENAHORO OF EXTAFF, REPLY IS LIKELY TO BE "FAVORABLE," WHICH SWISS AMBASSADOR TAKES TO MEAN FMG WILL AGREE TO TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS BUT ALSO WITHOUT CEASEFIRE.

2. I SUBSEQUENTLY SAW BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER WHO SAID FOREGOING WAS CONSISTENT WITH WHAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY GENERAL GOWON WHEN HE LAST SAW HIM, ALTHOUGH GOWON HAD NOT SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING. GLASS

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THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT REPLY WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY LINK FMG WILLINGNESS TO TALK TO OAU RESOLUTION, JUST AS OJUKWU LETTER TO SIAKA STEVENS - WHICH BEGAN THIS PARTICULAR CHAPTER - MADE CLEAR THAT TALKS COULD ONLY TAKE PLACE IF OAU RESOLUTION SET ASIDE (LAGOS 9499).

3. COMMENT: HOWEVER SKEPTICAL ONE MAY BE ABOUT ULTIMATE RESULT, IT IS STILL ENCOURAGING THAT FMG IS AT LEAST PLAYING ITS HAND WITH SOME SKILL IN PUBLIC RELATIONS TERMS. GP-1.
TRUEHEART

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ACTION AF 18

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NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20, USIA 12, UCF 05, UPW 01,

AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01, /160 W

122920

P R 121651Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9905
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
USMISSION USUN NY
USMISSION GENEVA

SECRET LAGOS 9857

SUBJ: HIM'S PEACE XYVEL#

REF: LAGOS 8980; LAGOS 9499 (NOTAL)

1. SWISS AMBASSADOR TOLD ME THIS MORNING THAT FMG EXECUTIVE COUNCIL IS SCHEDULED TO CONSIDER TODAY FORMAL REPLY TO MESSAGE FROM ETHIOPIAN EMPEROR RE PEACE TALKS (LAGOS 8980). ACCORDING TO HIS SOURCE, ENAHORO OF EXTAFF, REPLY IS LIKELY TO BE "FAVORABLE," WHICH SWISS AMBASSADOR TAKES TO MEAN FMG WILLINGNESS TO TALK TO OAU RESOLUTION, JUST AS OJUKWU CEASEFIRE.

2. I SUBSEQUENTLY SAW BRITISH HIGH COMMISSIONER WHO SAID FOREGOING WAS CONSISTENT WITH WHAT HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY GENERAL GOWON WHEN HE LAST SAW HIM, ALTHOUGH GOWON HAD NOT SPECIFICALLY REFERRED TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL MEETING. GLASS THOUGHT, HOWEVER, THAT REPLY WOULD ALMOST CERTAINLY LINK FMG WILLINGNESS TO TALK TO OAU RESOLUTION, JUST AS OJUKWU

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LETTER TO SIAKA STEVENS - WHICH BEGAN THIS PARTICULAR CHAPTER - MADE CLEAR THAT TALKS COULD ONLY TAKE PLACE IF OAU RESOLUTION SET ASIDE (LAGOS 9499).

3. COMMENT: HOWEVER SKEPTICAL ONE MAY BE ABOUT ULTIMATE RESULT, IT IS STILL ENCOURAGING THAT FMG IS AT LEAST PLAYING ITS HAND WITH SOME SKILL IN PUBLIC RELATIONS TERMS. GP-1.
TRUEHEART

NOTE: # AS RECEIVED.
CORRECTION TO FOLLOW.

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By	MV NARA Date 10/5/05



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ACTION: Amembassy PARIS PRIORITY

INFO : Amembassy LAGOS
Amembassy LONDON
Amembassy ROME

EXDIS

STATE

SECUN 115

SUBJECT: Under Secretary's Talking Points on Nigeria for Paris

A) London 9178; B) London 9217; C) London 9211; D) Rome 7251

1. Dept can add little to excellent talking points proposed ref ~~xx~~ C, but believe Under Secretary should consider when discussing possible African mediator whether, in view British attitude (ref ~~xx~~ and ~~xx~~), it would also be useful explore with French ways of encouraging initiation direct second-level talks.
2. Proposed US statement (State 189587) on Biafran rejection ICRC daylight flights under further revision for possible issuance by Secretary on Wednesday, Nov. 12. New text being sent to field so that statement can be discussed by Under Secretary with French and passed to British and Nigerian governments prior issuance.

Gp-1

END

DRAFTED BY: AF/SN:GBSharry:11	DRAFTING DATE 11/10/69	TEL. EXT. 23321	APPROVED BY: AF - DDNewsom
CLEARANCE: S/PC-CWRuser		S/S - Mr. Brown	
U/CF-JWRley			

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FORM 4-68 DS-322

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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ACTION AF 18

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PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

USIA 12, ACDA 16, AID 28, RSR 01, /171 W

054451

P R 011320Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9728
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

S E C R E T LAGOS 9564

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: LAGOS 9551

1. UKHICOMER SAW GOWON AND BRIG. EKPO A. M. ON QUESTION SECURITY OIL INSTALLATIONS FROM BIAFRAN ATTACKS. IN COURSE CONVERSATION GOWON COMMENTED ON RECENT PEACE INITIATIVES.

2. HICOMER REPORT TO FCO FOLLOWS: QUOTE. WHEN I SAW GOWON THIS MORNING I ASKED IF THERE WAS ANYTHING HE COULD TELL ME ABOUT PEACE TALKS. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT ARIKPO WOULD BE FILLING ME IN ON MONDAY. WE WERE NO DOUBT AWARE OF BUSIA'S APPROACH AND ALSO THAT OJUKWU HAD WRITTEN TO SIAKA STEVENS STATING HIS WILLINGNESS TO HAVE TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS AND THAT THIS LETTER HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO LAGOS BY KETAMA YUFRI AND DIALLO TELLI. GOWON HAD REPLIED TO THE EMPERIOR THAT HE HAD ALL ALONG BEEN WILLING TO HAVE TALKS AND HAD HAD MANY SHOTS AT IT IN THE PAST TWO YEARS. HE WAS WILLING TO TRY AGAIN. HE WOULD NOT

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REPEAT NOT HOWEVER HIMSELF ACCEPT ANY SUCH PRECONDITION AS A TRUCE OR CEASEFIRE. GOWON COMMENTED TO ME THAT HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO SIT BACK QUIETLY FOR A MONTH AND LET OJUKWU BRING IN PLANES AND ARMS UNMOLESTED.

WHEN I SAID THAT ALL THESE AFRICAN INITIATIVES SET HIM SOMETHING OF A DIPLOMATIC PROBLEM SINCE IT WAS DESIRABLE FOR THE FEDERAL GOVT. TO SHOW THEMSELVES AS TREATING THESE PROPOSALS SYMPATHETICALLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY, GOWON SAID THAT WE WERE NOT TO WORRY. THE FEDERAL GOVT. WOULD DO ITS BEST TO APPEAR REASONABLE TO ALL-COMERS. SPEAKING IN CONFIDENCE AS BETWEEN CLOSE FRIENDS HOWEVER, HE WAS BOUND TO SAY THAT MOST OF THE AFRICANS IN THE ACT SEEMED TO BE SEEKING FOR PERSONAL PRESTIGE WITHOUT REAL REFERENCE TO THE FACTS OF THE CASE. MOBUTU WAS ONE OF THE ONLY ONES WHO WAS A REALIST. HE COULD NOT PERSONALLY SEE THAT TALKS COULD GET ANYWHERE UNLESS OJUKWU HAD IT IN HIS MIND TO TALK ON SOME BASIS OF ONE NIGERIA. HE WAS NOT REPEAT NOT ASKING OJUKWU TO GIVE UP SECESSION BEFORE THE TALKS STARTED, BUT WHEN THEY DID START, UNLESS THERE WAS SOME GIVE ON OJUKWU'S PART, HE COULD SEE NO FUTURE IN NEGOTIATIONS. WHAT DOES EVERYONE THINK WE ARE FIGHTING ABOUT? HE ASKED. HE WENT ON TO SAY HOWEVER THAT DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND THE REBELS WAS THE ONLY WAY OF REACHING A SETTLEMENT. HE WAS AGAINST ANY SORT OF OUTSIDE MEDIATION. UNQUOTE. GP-1
TRUEHEART
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By	MNARA Date 10/3/05

The seal of the United States Department of State is located in the top right corner. It features an eagle with wings spread, perched on a shield with vertical stripes. Above the eagle's head is a constellation of stars. The words "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" are arched above the eagle, and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is arched below it.

POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

PAGE: 01 LONDON: 09217 101642Z

44.
ACTION SS: 45:

INFO OCT 01,CCO 00,SSO 00,NSCE 00,/046 W

110902

O 101541Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LONDON
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 4145
INFO AMEMBASSY ROME IMMEDIATE
AMEMBASSY LAGOS
AMEMBASSY PARIS

S E C R E T LONDON 9217

EXDIS

ROME FOR UNDER SECRETARY

SUBJ: BRUBECK CONVERSATIONS WITH FOREIGN OFFICE CONCERNING
AFRICAN MEDIATOR FOR NIGERIA

REF: ROME: 7251

1. TWO-HOUR CONVERSATION FOLLOWING UNDER SECY'S CONVERSATION WITH MICHAEL STEWART ON NIGERIA BROUGHT SOMEWHAT GRUDGING UK ACCEPTANCE OF US EXPLORING POSSIBILITY FINDING SUITABLE AFRICAN MEDIATOR FOR NIGERIA. WITHOUT SO SAYING, BRITISH SEEMED NERVOUS LEST AMERICAN INITIATIVE THIS LINE BE OVEREAGER AND CONSEQUENTLY MISFORMED.

2. AMONG OBJECTIONS ADVANCED BY UK WERE FOLLOWING:
A) DIFFICULTY FINDING SUITABLE AFRICAN; B) FRENCH
INTRINSIGENCE; C) APPARENT LACK OF READINESS TO COMPROMISE
BY EITHER PARTY; D) DIFFICULTY FINDING PROPER SITE FOR
TALKS; E) NIGERIAN HESITANCE IN ACCEPTING INTERNATIONAL
MEDIATOR PARTICULARLY FOLLOWING FAILURE OF OBORI PROPOSALS
FOR LOOSE FEDERATION AND F) THE KNOWLEDGE (FROM HIGHLY
PRIVILEGED LESLIE GLASS CONVERSATION WITH GOWON) THAT
GOWON EMOTIONALLY OPPOSED TO THIRD PARTY PARTICIPATION.

3. BRUBECK REITERATED ARGUMENTS OUTLINED REFTEL AND
BRITISH SLOWLY BEGAN AGREE THAT APPROACH COULD DO NO

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HARM AND MIGHT POSSIBLY LEAD TO NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT IF HANDLED PROPERLY. JOHNSTON APPEARED PARTICULARLY INTERESTED PROPOSAL THAT BRUBECK DISCUSS IDEA WITH FRENCH AND SUGGESTED HE TAKE LINE THAT CONTINUATION WAR BENEFITTED NO ONE AND WAS ACTUALLY KEEPING NIGERIA FROM DEVELOPING INTO NATION WITH GREAT STATURE. HE CITED PARALLELS WITH US CIVIL WAR WHICH HE FELT WOULD BE USEFUL IN DISCUSSIONS WITH FRENCH. ADDED THAT SOVIETS COULD AND WOULD REPLACE UK AS ARMS PROVIDER TO NIGERIA BUT FRANCE HAS POTENTIAL TO STOP FLOW OF ARMS TO ONE SIDE. HE SAID BRITISH HAVE FOUND FRENCH UNWILLING DISCUSS THIS QUESTION FULLY BUT THAT IDEA OF DRAWING TOGETHER A 3-POWER EFFORT ON NIGERIA WOULD CERTAINLY APPEAL TO FRENCH. HE POINTED OUT FRANCE IS NOT PUBLICLY COMMITTED TO AN INDEPENDENT BIAFRA SO IT SHOULD BE EASY TO BACK DOWN.

4. JOHNSTON ALSO PROPOSED ONE AVENUE FOR MEDIATOR TO OPEN TALKS COULD BE A SUGGESTION THAT ALL AIR FIELDS IN NIGERIA BE PLACED UNDER INTERNATIONAL CONTROL FOR DURATION OF TALKS. HE POINTED OUT THIS WOULD EFFECTIVELY END NOT ONLY ARMS SUPPLY BUT "FORTRESS BIAFRA" SYNDROME WHICH TIES BIAFRANS PSYCHOLOGICALLY TO WAR. JOHNSTON ALSO SUGGESTED UNLIMITED RELIEF FLIGHTS DURING PROPOSED INTERNATIONAL CONTROL PERIOD. (WHEN QUESTIONED, ADMITTED HARD TO SEE OJUKWU AGREEING TO ABOVE). JOHNSTON ADDED HIS RESERVATION THAT HE DIDN'T SEE GOWON GOING TO PEACE TALKS UNTIL HE FEELS HE HAS OJUKWU UNDER HIS FOOT.

5. BRUBECK ASKED OPINION ON HOW TO GET FRENCH TO PRESSURE OJUKWU TO TALKS AS BY SO DOING THEY WOULD HAVE TO ADMIT THEY BET ON A LOSER. JOHNSTON SUGGESTED POINT TO MAKE TO FRANCE WAS THAT FMG WILL WIN--BLOODY OR NOT; THAT FMG WILL NOT CRUMBLE AND ITS DESIRE WILL NOT FAIL. SUGGESTION WAS ALSO MADE THAE DECISION TO TALK WILL BE MORE PALATABLE IF BIAFRANS LOOK AS THOUGH THEY MADE IT ON THEIR OWN WITHOUT PRESSURE.

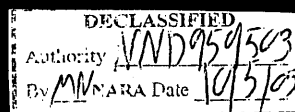
6. BRUBECK PROMISED CLOSE CONTACT WITH BRITISH FOLLOWING UPCOMING PARIS TALKS BY UNDER SECY RICHARDSON.

7. AS FINAL NOTE JOHNSTON HOPED BRBECK COULD CONVINCE

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The seal of the United States Department of State, featuring an eagle with a shield, holding an olive branch and arrows, with a constellation of stars above its head. The text "DEPARTMENT OF STATE" is at the top and "UNITED STATES OF AMERICA" is at the bottom.

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PAGE 03. LONDON 09217 101642Z

FRENCH THAT UK DO NOT HAVE EXCESSIVE VOICE WITH FMG. HE ADDED THAT WE SHOULD NOT COUNT ON FRANCE HAVING AS GREAT INFLUENCE WITH OJUKWU AS DOES HOUPHOUET AND THAT FRENCH INFLUENCE WITH HOUPHOUET IS ALSO LIMITED. ALL FONOFF REMARKS WERE CAST IN LIGHT OF THEIR LIMITED, ALMOST NON-EXISTANT CONTACTS WITH FRENCH ON THIS SUBJECT AT PRESENT.

8. AT END OF CONVERSATION, BRUBECK AGAIN SUMMARIZED PROPOSAL FOR MUTUAL EXPLORATION OF MEDIATOR, CONSORTIUM, AND THREE-POWER COOPERATION PROPOSAL, ON WHICH HE THOUGHT THERE ENOUGH US-UK AGREEMENT FOR FURTHER PLANNING. UK UNDERTOOK TO DO FURTHER STAFF WORK ON SPECIFICS OF WHAT TO DO AND TALK AGAIN IN FEW WEEKS.

BRUBECK UNDERTOOK STOPOVER, NOVEMBER 13 EN ROUTE PARIS-
WASHINGTON, TO DEBRIEF ON PARIS TALKS AND HEAR FURTHER
BRITISH THOUGHTS RE GENERAL PLAN.
HUGHES:

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ACTION SS 45

INFO OCT 01, 1969 W

R 081330Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY PARIS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8706

SECRET PARIS 17371

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DEPT PASS AS DESIRED

SUBJ: NIGERIA/BIAFRA: FURTHER GOF VIEWS

1. DURING CONVERSATION NOVEMBER 6, DCM COMMENTED TO ELYSEE SECRETARY GENERAL JOBERT (SENSITIVE SOURCE-PLEASE PROTECT) THAT WE HAD IMPRESSION GOF POSITION ON NIGERIA/BIAFRA PERHAPS UNDERGOING SHIFT IN DIRECTION LESS DIRECT INVOLVEMENT.

2. JOBERT REPLIED THAT THEREHAD BEEN NEITHER CHANGE IN GOF POLICY THIS ISSUE NOR ANY CONSIDERATION SUCH CHANGE. GOF, HE ADDED, REMAINED VERY ANXIOUS TO SEE THE CONFLICT END ON TERMS ACCEPTABLE TO BIAFRANS, BUT GOF WAS NOT VERY DEEPLY OR DIRECTLY INVOLVED IN NEGOTIATIONS AT PRESENT BECUASE PROBLEM APPEARED ESSENTIALLY FOR AFRICANS TO RESOLVE. ASKED BY DCM WHETHER EMPHASIS ON LEAVING PROBLEM TO AFRICANS IN FIRST INSTANCE DID NOT ITSELF REPRESENT SOME CHANGE, JOBERT AGREED THIS MIGHT BE SLIGHT MODIFICATION OF EMPHASIS BUT REITERATED THAT NOTHING MORE WAS CONTEMPLATED.

3. JOBERT MENTIONED TO DCM THAT FONMIN SCHUMANN WOULD CERTAINLY WISH RAISE NIGERIA/BIAFRA PROBLEM WITH SECRETARY ROGERS AT DECEMBER NATO MEETING IF SITUATION NOT IMPROVED SUBSTANTIALLY BY THAT TIME. HE SAID PRESIDENT POMPIDOU WOULD DOUBTLESS ALSO TAKE UP QUESTION WITH PRESIDENT NIXON IF NO SOLUTION FOUND PRIOR FORMER'S VISIT TO U.S.

GP-3.
BLAKE

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Assume Monrovia 4936 dated November 6 has been brought to Under Secretary's attention.

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 1 OF 2 LAGOS 9710/1

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN POSITION ON PEACE TALKS

REF: A. LAGOS 9638 B) GENEVA 4003 C. LAGOS 9615

1. SUMMARY: THE RECENT SPATE OF BIAFRAN POLICY STATEMENTS ON
PEACE TALKS POINTS UP THE VARIOUS THEMES THEY EMPLOY IN
APPROACHING THE QUESTIONS OF INDEPENDENCE, SECURITY
GUARANTEES AND THE KIND OF FUTURE ASSOCIATION (IF ANY)
WITH NIGERIA THEY WOULD ACCEPT. DESPITE THE PROMINENCE

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GIVEN TO A RECENT STATEMENT THAT OJUKWU WOULD SETTLE FOR SOMETHING LESS THAN FULL INDEPENDENCE, WE BELIEVE INDEPENDENCE REMAIN HIS BASIC OBJECTIVE. WE THINK IT MOST LIKELY THAT ANY CHANGE IN THIS POSITION WOULD COME FROM OJUKWU HIMSELF. END SUMMARY.

2. THE RECENT ROUND OF BIAFRAN STATEMENTS ON PEACE TALKS BEGAN WITH A SPEECH BY OJUKWU ON OCT 31 (REF A). THIS WAS FOLLOWED BY BIAFRAN GOVERNMENT SPOKESMANS STATEMENT ISSUED GENEVA NOVEMBER 3 (REF B) THAT BIAFRAN ATTACHMENT TO SOVERIGNTY IS "FUNCTIONAL", AND REBELS PREPARED ACCEPT "ALTERNATE ARRANGEMENT" GUARANTEEING THEIR SAFETY. SPOKESMAN'S STATEMENT IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWED BY DISCLAIMERS FROM BIAFRAN REPRESENTATIVES LONGON (KOGBARA) AND EAST AFRICA (OKWU) WHO BACKTRACKED ON SUGGESTION THAT BIAFRA PREPARED SETTLE FOR LESS THAN OUTRIGHT INDEPENDENCE. SUBSEQUENTLY, ON EVENING NOVEMBER 4 OJUKWU HELD PRESS CONFERENCE WHICH PRODUCED CONFLICTING STORIES ON BIAFRAN POSITION. ACCORDING REUTERS STORY DATED LINE OWERRI, OJUKWU SAID "HE SAW LITTLE PROSPECT FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS TO END THE WAR AND PREDICTED CONFLICT MIGHT WELL BE SETTLED ON THE BATTLEFIELD". HE ADDED "SECURITY WAS PARAMOUNT TO BIAFRA IN ANY POSSIBLE PEACE SETTLEMENT", EFP, ALSO FILING FROM OWERRI, SAID OJUKWU HAS "REPEATED HIS APPEAL FOR UNCONDITIONAL PEACE TALKS" AND SAID REBELS "PREPARED GIVE UP CERTAIN SOVERIGN ATTRIBUTES" IN INTEREST OF PEACE. OJUKWU INDIRECTLY QUOTED AS SAYING THERE COULD BE GIVE AND TAKE ON QUESTION OF ECONOMIC LINKS WITH FEDERAL NIGERIA AND FREE MOVEMENT OF PEOPLE. IN RARE REFERENCE TO BOUNDARY QUESTION OJUKWU REPORTEDLY SAID HE COULD NOT ENVISAGE ANY COMPROMISE SOLUTION IN WHICH BIAFRA WOULD AGREE TO AN ALTERATION OF ITS BOUNDARIES. PORT HARCOURT, FOR INSTANCE "WAS AN INTEGRAL PART OF BIAFRA". OJUKWU REPORTED AS SAYING SHORT CEASEFIRE ACCEPTABLE, BUT "PROLONGED CEASEFIRE ALONG ESTABLISHED FRONTLINES WAS OUT OF THE QUESTION". HE REITERATED THAT OAU RESOLUTIONS UNACCEPTABLE AS BASIS FOR PEACE NEGOTIATIONS.

3. THIS LATEST ROUND OF STATEMENTS LEADS US TO POINT OUT THAT SINCE BEGINNING OF CIVIL WAR REBELS HAVE DEVELOPED NUMBER OF THEMES WHICH THEY PLAY UP OR DOWN AS THEY SEE FIT. FOR EXAMPLE, BIAFRAN POLICY STATEMENTS HAVE

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FREQUENTLY, THOUGH NOT ALWAYS, REFERRED TO SOME KIND OF "ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION" WITH NIGERIA. IN DISCUSSIONS WITH FRANCOPHONES, BIAFRANS APPARENTLY DO NOT DEMUR AT THE TERM "CONFEDERATION", A CONCEPT SEEMINGLY IN VOGUE AMONG THOSE WHO WRITE PRESCRIPTIONS FOR NIGERIA IN FRENCH. TO OUR KNOWLEDGE NEITHER "ECONOMIC ASSOCIATION" NOR "CONFEDERATION" HAS BEEN SUFFICIENTLY SPELLED OUT BY AUTHORITIES ON EITHER SIDE FOR US TO DETERMINE HOW MUCH "INDEPENDENCE" THIS WOULD GIVE BIAFRA ALTHOUGH WE ASSUME FROM TONE OJUKWU'S LAST STATEMENT (AND MARKPRESS DIRECTORS "PERSONAL" INTERPRETATION) IT WOULD MEAN AT LEAST "AUTONOMY" WITH ECONOMIC "COOPERATION". FMG PROPOSALS HAVE REPEATEDLY BEEN PUBLISHED, THOUGH LITTLE NOTED (REF E).

4. ON QUESTIONS OF SOVERIGNTY AND SECURITY, WHICH BIAFRANS ALTERNATELY INTERTWINE AND SEPARATE, WE THINK THAT NOV 3 STATEMENT ATTRIBUTED TO "BIAFRAN SPOKESMAN" GOES FURTHER THAN ANY PREVIOUS REBEL STATEMENT INDICATING WILLINGNESS ACCEPT "ALTERNATIVES" TO INDEPENDENCE. FACT IT FUZZED UP AND CONTRADICTED TO SOME EXTENT BY SUBSEQUENT KOGBARA, OKWU AND OJUKWU STATEMENTS IS NOT PARTICULARLY NEW DEVELOPMENT. IN THIS CASE, OKWU, FOR EXAMPLE, QUOTED BY AFP AS SAYING "WHAT SPOKESMAN MEANT TO SAY WAS THAT BIAFRA WAS READY TO TAKE INTO CONSIDERATION ANY PROPOSITION ON COEXISTENCE AND COOPERATION WITH NIGERIA AS LONG AS BIAFRA'S DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SECURITY AND ITS INTERNATIONAL ENTITY WERE GUARANTEED".

5. PRACTICAL EFFECT OF NOV 3 STATEMENT IS ESSENTIALLY AN EXTENSION OF PRINCIPLES UNDERLYING BIAFRAN POSITION ON DAYLIGHT FLIGHTS, I.E. THEY FIRST TIED DAYLIGHT RELIEF FLIGHTS TO INTERNATIONAL GUARANTEES OF EPOLITICAL NATURE, AND THEY NOW MAKE ACCEPTANCE OF "ANY ALTERNATE ARRANGEMENT THAT CAN GUARANTEE A NON-RECURRENCE OF MASSACRES" CONTINGENT ON A GUARANTEE OF THEIR "DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN SECURITY" AND THEIR STATUS AS AN "INTERNATIONAL ENTITY". TRUEHEART

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CONFIDENTIAL SECTION 2 OF 2 LAGOS 9710/2

SUBJECT: BIAFRAN POSITION ON PEACE TALKS

REF: A. LAGOS 9688 B1 GENEVA 4003 C. LAGOS 9615

6. AS STATED LAGOS 9408, WE BELIEVE IT POSSIBLE REBELS
MAY CONCENTRATE INCREASINGLY ON PLAYING UP THE THEME OF
"SECURITY GUARANTEES" RATHER THAN INDEPENDENCE WHEN
TACTICAL POLITICAL IMAGE-MAKING (OR MILITARY SITUATION)
SO DICTATES. BUT, IN THE ABSENCE OF ANY INDICATION AS TO

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WHAT THESE GUARANTEES MIGHT SPECIFICALLY INCLUDE, WE HAVE NO WAY OF KNOWING WHETHER "GUARANTEES" IS SIMPLY ANOTHER TERM FOR INDEPENDENCE. IF SO, TERM "GUARANTEES" IS ONLY SEMANTIC CAMOUFLAGE FOR WHAT WAS CERTAINLY ORIGINAL PURPOSE OF SECESSION--CREATION OF A SEPARATE, INDEPENDENT STATE. WE BELIEVE THIS STILL BASIC REBEL AIM, WITH TALK OF "GUARANTEES" PRIMARILY AN EFFORT TO SECURE SOME FORM INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION.

7. WE ALSO THINK BIAFRAN REPS MODIFICATION OF NOV 3 STATEMENT CAUSED BY GREAT FLURRY OF WORLD PRESS SPECULATION THAT THIS WAS SIGNIFICANT SHIFT BY BIAFRANS. TO LET THIS INTERPRETATION GO UNCHALLENGED WOULD HAVE BEEN DANGEROUS IF NO SUCH INTERPRETATION INTENDED. THIS WOULD EXPLAIN QUICK TURNAROUND BY BIAFRAN OVERSEAS REPS AND REITERATION HARD LINE BY OJUKWU HIMSELF ON NOV 4. IN THIS CONNECTION RAISING TOUCHY KEY QUESTION OF BIAFRAN BOUNDARIES AND CONTROL OF PORT HARCOURT WOULD SEEM UNLIKELY LINE TO TAKE PUBLICLY IF REBELS SERIOUSLY TRYING ARRANGE PEACE TALKS. FINALLY WE THINK IT MORE LIKELY, GIVEN OJUKWU'S STYLE, THAT MAJOR BIAFRAN POLICY INDICATOR WILL COME FROM HIM SO LONG AS HE IN CONTROL. GRP-3
TRUEHEART

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C O N F I D E N T I A L MONROVIA 4936

REF: STATE 180009 Ne

SUBJ: NIGERIA: PEACE SEEKING.

1. PRESIDENT TUBMAN RECEIVED ME 10AM NOV 6 AND HELD FORTH FOR HALF HOUR ON PROSPECTS FOR PEACE IN NIGERIA. SECSTATE GRIMES WAS ALSO PRESENT. WHILE TUBMAN BELIEVES ALL CONCERNED SHOULD USE EVERY OPPORTUNITY TO MAKE TACTICAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO PEACE EFFORT, HE IS FRANKLY PESSIMISTIC ABOUT PROSPECTS FOR NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT BEFORE "ONE SIDE" HAS BEEN SO WEAKENED THAT IT MUST SUBSTANTIALLY ACCEPT TERMS LAID DOWN BY OTHER. HE ASKED RHETORICALLY WHETHER ANY CIVIL WAR HAD EVER BEEN ENDED BY NEGOTIATIONS RATHER THAN FORCE.

2. TUBMAN EVINCED NO AWARENESS OF MISS BROOKS' CONVERSATION WITH AMB BUFFUM. HE WAS, OF COURSE, AWARE OF HER EXPRESSION OF WILLINGNESS TO PLAY THE PEACEMAKER. HER STANCE WAS LAUDABLE, BUT AS PRACTICAL MATTER HE COULD PERCEIVE NO POINT AT WHICH HER ENERGIES COULD USEFULLY BE DIRECTLY APPLIED. HE DID NOT BELIEVE GOWON OR OUKWUI WOULD RESPOND VERY WELL TO HER PERSONALITY IN MEDIATION ROLE.

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3. TUBMAN SAID HE FOUND IT HARD TO ASSESS PRESENT STATE OF PLAY. CLEARER FACT WAS THAT AS WAS ALWAYS THE CASE WAR HAD CAUSED DURABLE HATRED AND DISTRUST ON BOTH SIDES WHICH MADE NEGOTIATIONS DIFFICULT. OJUKWU DISTRUSTED OAU AND EVERYONE IN IT EXCEPT PERHAPS HOUPHOUET, NYERERE, AND KAUNDA. OTHERWISE IT SEEMED TO PRESIDENT THAT ALMOST EVERY REPORT HE RECEIVED ABOUT DISPOSITIONS OF TWO PARTIES WAS INVALID BY TIME IT REACHED HIM. HE HAD HEARD RADIO PROGRAM THIS MORNING TO EFFECT OJUKWU HAD OFFERED TO NEGOTIATE ON PROMISING TERMS, BUT HIS SINCERITY HAD TO BE PROVED. TUBMAN HAD REGRETFULLY CONCLUDED THAT SO LONG AS THERE ANY FIGHT LEFT IN HIM OJUKWU AND THE BIAFRANS WOULD ONLY SETTLE FOR "SOVEREIGNTY AND AUTONOMY".

4. DURING DIALLO TELLI'S LAST VISIT TO MONROVIA EARLY OCTOBER HE HAD TOLD TUBMAN HE HAD "PROMISING POSITION" FROM OJUKWU AND HAD ASKED TUBMAN TO SEND DEL (TO INCLUDE VP TOLBERT AND SENATOR SHAD TUBMAN TO GOWON AS PURVEYORS OF OJUKWU PROPOSAL. AFTER THINKING IT OVER, HE HAD REFUSED AND SUGGESTED THAT DIALLO TELLI HIMSELF PRESENT THE POSITION TO GOWON. SIMILARLY, WHEN HIS FRIEND HOUPHOUET HAD SUGGESTED THAT TUBMAN PRESS GOWON FOR A CEASE FIRE AS A PREREQUISITE FOR NEGOTIATIONS TUBMAN HAD ARGUED THAT THIS WAS UNNECESSARY. IF OJUKWU REALLY WANTED TO NEGOTIATE HIS SAFE CONDUCT COULD BE ARRANGED "WITHOUT INTERRUPTING THE WAR".

5. TUBMAN REITERATED HIS EMPHATIC VIEW THAT ONLY POSITION OAU COULD TAKE WAS THAT OF SUPPORT FOR NIGERIAN UNITY. WHILE HE OBSERVED THAT OAU "STILL TRYING" HE HAD LITTLE TO SAY ABOUT CURRENT EFFORTS AND LEFT IMPRESSION THAT NEITHER HE, EMPEROR OR AOU SECGEN HAD ANY TRICKS UP THEIR SLEEVES AT PRESENT.
HOWISON

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Subj: Nigeria - Consultation in London

1. Moberly of British Embassy informed today that in forthcoming consultations on Nigeria in London we wish explore in specific terms possibilities for US-UK cooperation in helping get meaningful well-planned negotiation & effort started. We agreed efforts at summit negotiation at impasse and we should aim at more modest goal of exploratory second level talks.

2. He was also told we will have discussions with French next week. We wish get British view of chances for limited French cooperation in effort described para. 1. Also intend urge utility continuing Anglo-French dialogue both in London and Paris.

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~~Ambassador LONDON PRIORITY~~
Ambassador PARIS PRIORITY

6 Nov 69 23 45Z

STATE:

SECUN 53

SUBJ: Press Guidance for Under Secretary - Nigeria

1. Following is suggested guidance on Nigeria for Under Secretary's London press conference November 7.
2. Under Secretary and Foreign Minister have discussed Nigeria among other topics as matter of mutual concern.
3. The US remains deeply concerned to find an adequate program, with the agreement of both sides, to meet the relief need in the enclave. We continue to feel that the ICRC program accepted by the Nigerian Government offers the most satisfactory solution and regret that the ICRC has been unable to get Biafran agreement.
4. We recognize, however, that only real solution to relief problem is an end to the war. We have followed with sympathy the efforts of African leaders to arrange negotiations to bring about a peaceful settlement. We are prepared, of course,

188376

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:WHBrubeck:BJR

DRAFTING DATE
11-5-69

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29311

APPROVED BY:

AF - Amb. William Witman

CLEARANCES:

AF/P - Mr. Rosell

U/CF - Ferguson COJ.

EUR/BMI - Mr. ~~XXXXXX~~ Furness

S/PC - Mr. Ruser

S/S - Mr. XXXXX

Brown

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FORM DS-322
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By MNARA Date 10/5/05

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

LAGOS 9683
11-5-69

SECRET 486

PAGE 01 LAGOS 09683 051804Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, SSO 00, NSCE 00, USIE 00, CCO 00, CIAE 00,
DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01,
SS 20, UPW 01, UCF 05, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01,
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P 051725Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9805
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON PRIORITY
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION NATO
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN NY

S E C R E T LAGOS 9683

REF: (A) STATE 186947 (B) LAGOS 9615 (C) LAGOS A-192

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR: FMG GUARANTEES

1. DCM SAW ENAHORO TODAY AND DISCUSSED BALOGUN STATEMENT IN LE MONDE. ENAHORO DID NOT KNOW WHAT PROMPTED STATEMENT AT THIS TIME BUT VENTURED IT WAS PROBABLY A RESULT OF QUESTIONS RECEIVED BY NIGERIAN MISSION PARIS. ENAHORO COMMENTED BALOGUN IS NOT EXTAFF OFFICER BUT INFO MINISTRY MAN.

2. IN ANSWER TO QUESTION ENAHORO CONFIRMED THAT STATEMENT WAS A REAFFIRMATION OF "FMG ADDIS PROPOSAL OF SEPTEMBER 1968" FURTHER ENUNCIATED AT MONROVIA IN APRIL 1969. HE DID POINT OUT THAT BALOGUN STATEMENT QUOTE FMG WOULD ACCEPT PRESENCE OF FOREIGN OBSERVATION TROOPS ETC. UNQUOTE WAS INACCURATE IN THAT WHILE THE FMG WOULD PERMIT "FOREIGN OBSERVERS" SUCH AS THE PRESENT MILITARY OBSERVERS, ARMED FOREIGN TROOPS ON NIGERIAN SOIL WOULD NOT BE ACCEPTABLE. ENAHORO EXPRESSED DOUBTS THAT ONCE WAR OVER, IBOS THEMSELVES WOULD WANT FOREIGN OBSERVERS SINCE IT

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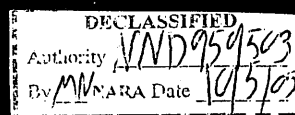
PAGE 02 LAGOS 09683 051804Z

WOULD TEND TO SET THEM ASIDE FROM OTHER NIGERIANS AND IMPEDE
THEIR REINTEGRATION. ENAHORO ADDED THAT FMG WOULD NEVER
ALLOW QUESTION OF PRESENCE OF OBSERVERS TO BECOME AN OBSTACLE
TO ANY MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS
OR SETTLEMENT.

3. DCM EMPHASIZED TO ENAHORO IMPORTANCE OF NO AMBIGUITY IN FMG
PUBLIC POSITION ON SECURITY GUARANTEES. GP-2.
TRUEHEART

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INFO: AMEMBASSY LONDON
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 USUN

STATE:

SECUN: 21

REF: A) Lagos 9615, B) Lagos A-192

Subject: Nigerian Civil War: FMG Guarantees

1. Department appreciates Lagos prompt response. However, would appreciate Embassy discussing Balogun statement with Enahoro at EXTAFF. We want to know if Balogun statement in Le Monde represents authoritative reaffirmation FMG Monrovia guarantee proposal. Any other background on why statement made at this time and in this form would be useful.
2. We feel it important there be no ambiguity in FMG public position on security guarantees if there to be any hope of encouraging meaningful negotiations.
3. Please repeat reply to London before Nov. 7.

End. ROGERS

DRAFTED BY:

AF/SN:GBS:ry:gw

CLEARANCES:

S/S - Mr. Lloyd

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11/4/69

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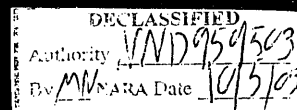
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ACTION: Amembassy ADDIS ABABA

INFO: ~~XXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXXX~~ BRUSSELS USMISSION NATO

" LAGOS
" LONDON
" PARIS
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LIMDIS

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Subj: Nigerian Civil War

Ref: State 183414

1..Appreciate your seeking early opportunity to discuss with Emperor
or other appropriate official
/matters covered below, with particular reference to para. 4 in which
we very ~~interested~~ interested.

2. Drawing on reftel you should brief HIM on Ferguson mission and
rejection proposed US guarantee formula by Biafrans.

3. While pointing out that our primary interest remains humanitarian
you should tell HIM we nevertheless believe only really effective
solutionn to humanitarian problem is end of fighting. We therefore
and
most interested in/prepared support any reasonable initiatives that

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AF/SN:GBSherry:ba

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AF/SN - William H. Brubeck

CLEARANCES:

AF/E- Mr. Holmes (substance)
S/S-Mr. ~~XXXX~~ Irons

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ACTION: ADDIS ABABA

PAGE 2

could bring about negotiations.

4. You should tell HIM that we aware his post-Addis OAU peace initiative and would be most grateful if he could fill us in on progress to date and his expectations for progress if any.

END

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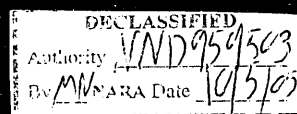
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POL 27-14 BIAFRA - NIGERIA

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ACTION AF 05

INFO OCT 01, SS 20, CIAE 00, INR 06, UCF 01, IO 04, PM 01, SR 01, NSC 10,

CODE 00, RSR 01, RSC 01, /051 W

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R 051422Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1496

SECRET ADDIS ABABA 4970

LIMDIS

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR

REFERENCE: STATE 186906 AND 183414

1. EMPEROR AWAY ADDIS BALANCE THIS WEEK AND EARLY NEXT WEEK ON TOUR. IF I HAVE OPPORTUNITY SEE HIM AT METAHARA TOMORROW MAY BE ABLE EXPLORE STATUS RELIEF AND PEACE EFFORTS.

2. OTHERWISE FIRST OPPORTUNITY WILL BE EARLY NEXT WEEK WITH PRIMIN OR FONMIN KETEMA.
HALL

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INFO OCT 01, AF 05, SS 20, CIAE 00, INR 06, RSR 01, RSC 01, PRS 01, PM 03,

DOD 01, NSC 10, SR 01, /051 W

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R 051555Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2934

C O N F I D E N T I A L LIBREVILLE 1164

LIMDIS

DEPT REPEAT AS DESIRED

SUBJECT: BONGO AND BIAFRA

1. BONGO TOLD ME NOVEMBER 4:

A) OJUKWU HAD SENT HIM ADVANCE COPY OF STATEMENTS HE WOULD MAKE AT PRESS CONFERENCE THAT EVENING, DECLARING AGAIN BIAFRAN READINESS TO NEGOTIATE UNCONDITIONALLY WITH LAGOS AND HIS WILLINGNESS TO PARTICIPATE PERSONALLY IF NIGERIANS DID NOT TAKE MILITARY ADVANTAGE OF HIS ABSENCE. BONGO CLAIMED THAT THIS WAS "JUST THE REPLY TO HIS LETTER WHICH HE WANTED AND EXPECTED."

B) OJUKWU SPOKE FOR BIAFRA WITH TOTAL AUTHORITY, BUT OBSTACLE TO MEANINGFUL NEGOTIATIONS WAS FACT THAT GOWON WAS NOT MASTER OF HIS OWN HOUSE, "JUST LIKE NGOUABI IN BRAZZAVILLE." BONGO ITERATED THAT HE HAD BEEN BURNED BY GOWON'S IMPOTENCE AND THAT GOWON COMMITMENTS ABROAD WERE OVERRULED AT HOME. BOTH GOWON AND NGOUABI WERE PERSONABLE, BUT WERE SURROUNDED BY POWERFUL ADVISORS RECOMMENDING DIFFERENT COURSES OF ACTION.

C) WHEN ASKED WHY BIAFRANS HAD NOT ACCEPTED AM. FERGUSON'S PROPOSALS, BONGO REPLIED THAT USG HAD MADE MISTAKE OF CASTING GUARANTEES IN TERMS WHICH WERE POORLY DEFINED TO MEET BIAFRAN PREJUDICES, I.E., EVEN THOUGH THERE

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WERE NO RPT NO ARMS FLIGHTS BY DAY, ARROGANT BIAFRANS WOULD NEVER AGREE TO GUARANTEE THIS. FROM PRACTICAL STANDPOINT, AMB. FERGUSON SHOULD HAVE BEEN AUTHORIZED PROPOSE "SUPPLEMENTARY FLIGHTS BY DAY WITHOUT CHANGE OF STATUS QUO". THIS FORMULATION WOULD HAVE ACHIEVED SAME PURPOSE AND WOULD HAVE BEEN ACCEPTED (SIC). BONGO ADMITTED THAT LAGOS MIGHT NOT HAVE AGREED TO THIS FORMULATION AND OPINED THAT BOTH PARTIES WERE ALMOST IMPOSSIBLE TO WORK WITH. HE REPEATED HIS CONVICTION THAT IT WAS "TOO LATE" FOR REAL RECONCILIATION BETWEEN GOWON AND OJUKWU UNDER ONE ROOF ("ONE NIGERIA") NOW OR IN THE FUTURE. HE FELT WAR HAD BOGGED DOWN INTO MILITARY STALEMATE SINCE BOTH SIDES HAD PLENTY OF GUNS. THIS MIGHT FAVOR IBOS SINCE THEY HAD NOTHING MATERIAL TO LOSE AND SINCE THEY WOULD STICK TOGETHER WHILE REST OF NIGERIA FELL APART.

D) HE OFFERED TO HELP AMBASSADOR FERGUSON IN ANY FURTHER EFFORTS BUT SUGGESTED HIS ASSISTANCE MIGHT BE MORE PRODUCTIVE IN PREPARATION RATHER THAN IMPLEMENTATION STAGE.

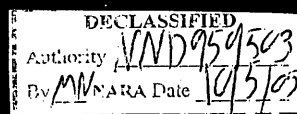
2. COMMENT: BONGO ALWAYS SPEAKS AS IF HE CONTROLS BIAFRAN FATE AND CAN GET WHAT HE WANTS OUT OF THEM.

WHEREAS I PRESUME HE IS MORE AN INSTRUMENT OF FRENCH IN THIS AFFAIR THAN AN INDEPENDENT OPERATOR, IT MIGHT BE USEFUL TO TEST HIM ON SUBSTANCE, SINCE WE KNOW HE CAN HANDLE SUCH LOGISTICAL PROBLEMS AS BRINGING SIR LOUIS TO LIBREVILLE AGAINST HIS WILL.

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA

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Origin ACTION: Amembassy LAGOS
Info: INFO: Amembassy LONDON
PARIS
US MISSION GENEVA
Amconsul IBADAN
KADUNA

SUBJECT: Nigeria - Press Summary

1. November 4 Post, Times, Sun carried Markpress release indicating Biafran readiness negotiate peace on basis security guarantees. All papers report that Biafrans had believed "separate existence" was only logical remedy for massacres to which they had been subjected. Articles continued, "However since our attachment to sovereignty is functional and not sentimental, Biafra will be prepared to accept, at the suggestion of no matter whom, any alternate arrangement that can guarantee a nonrecurrence of the massacres of the last 25 years."

2. Times said "at the suggestion of no matter whom" referred to Western countries, and to U.S. in particular. Times article continued:

QUOTE: Only last Saturday, according well-informed source here, Gen. Ojukwu told Biafran Consultative Assembly he would reject negotiations if they were proposed on basis OAU's demand for continuance of a single Nigerian government.

Drafted by AF/P:WCR:ell:mb 11/4/69

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AF/SN - Mr. Brubeck

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ACTION: Page 2 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

C.O. Jollist, acting Nigerian representative to UN Geneva office, said tonight that Biafran spokesman's statement constituted Biafra's first offer to end civil war with less than complete independence. However, Nigerian radio made no mention of reported Biafran offer in its news bulletins tonight.

Mr. Jollist said that although negotiations were possible on a number of levels, they might take place between Maj. Gen. Gowon and Gen. Ojukwu.

He emphasized, however, his Government would be unwilling to act on basis of the Biafra spokesman's statement. He suggested General Ojukwu confirm offer in a letter to Emperor Haile Selassie of Ethiopia, who is head of consultative committee set up by OAU to seek peace in Nigeria.

Once this was done, he said, Emperor could communicate with both sides to start negotiations at some level. Since U.S. maintains contact with Biafra as well as with Nigeria, Mr. Jollist said, Washington also could help to get negotiations under way.

According to Western source in close touch with situation in Biafra, however, Biafran public opinion would not permit General Ojukwu to make such statement to the Emperor in view of Haile Selassie's close connection with OAU. UNQTE

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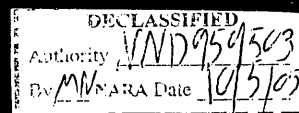
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ACTION: Page 3 of tel to Amembassy LAGOS

Info:

3. Times quoted one Biafran spokesman saying Biafran offer equivalent to "fight and negotiate position of North Vietnam in Paris peace talks" and that Ojukwu wanted prove unwillingness negotiate not rpt not on Biafran side. Times also said:

QUOTE: Although Biafran spokesman threw no light on what type settlement, less than independence, would be acceptable, other sources suggested General Ojukwu might settle for a federalist form of government in which Biafra would have complete home rule. UNQTE

END

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POL 27-14 BIAFRA-NIGERIA
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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, IO 13, CCO 00, CIAE 00, DODE 00, NSAE 00, NSCE 00,
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SS 20, AID 28, SR 01, ORM 03, UCF 05, UPW 01, SCS 04, SCA 01, RSR 01,
/148 W

O R 041200Z NOV 69
FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9760
INFO AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USMISSION GENEVA
USMISSION USUN

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SECRET LAGOS 9615

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN CIVIL WAR: FMG GUARANTEES

REF: A) STATE 1855/0 B) STATE 174421 (NOTAL) C) LAGOS 9161
(NOTAL) D) LAGOS 6373 E) LAGOS A-192, APRIL 26, 1969

1. BALOGUN STATEMENT AS CARRIED BY REUTERS IS AN ACCURATE SUMMARY OF FMG'S LONG-STANDING POSITION ON SECURITY GUARANTEES OF THE IBOS, COMPLETE TEXT OF WHICH AVAILABLE IN REF (E), SENT TO ALL ADDRESSEES. POSITION WAS MOST RECENTLY SET OUT IN COMPREHENSIVE FORM ON APRIL 18, 1969 AT OAU CONSULTATIVE COMMISSION MEETING IN MONROVIA. IT WAS PUT FORWARD THERE IN NAME OF GENERAL GOWON AND SUBSEQUENTLY PUT ON PUBLIC RECORD. HENCE DEPARTMENT SHOULD BE SAFE IN USING IT IN DISCUSSION WITH BRITISH AND FRENCH.
2. WE DO NOT KNOW WHAT LED TO PUBLICATION OF GUARANTEES IN LE MONDE AT THIS TIME, BUT IT IS SORT OF THING FMG SHOULD HAVE BEEN DOING EVER SINCE GUARANTEES FIRST MADE PUBLIC AT ADDIS ABABA IN FALL OF 1968, AS UKHICOM AND ENO HAVE CONTINUOUSLY

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PRESSED THEM TO DO.

3. AS NOTED IN REF (D), QUESTION OF WHETHER OJUKWU INCLUDED IN AMNESTY REMAINS OBSCURE AND WHILE ARIKPO AND IYALLA HAVE CAST SOME DOUBT ON THE FOREIGN OBSERVER ASPECT OF THE GUARANTEES (REF B), WE BELIEVE THAT THE GUARANTEES HAVE NOT BEEN MODIFIED.

GP-3

TRUEHEART

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, UCF 05, CIAE 00, DODE 00, PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03,

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SR 01, ORM 03, UPW 01, IO 13, SCS 04, SCA 01, /160 W

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FM AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 1486

INFO AMEMBASSY LAGOS

AMEMBASSY LONDON

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY MONROVIA

CONFIDENTIAL ADDIS ABABA 4957

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN TALKS

1. AT CONCLUSION MY TALK WITH OAU SYG TELLI AT HIS REQUEST ON OTHER MATTER (SEPTEL) HE ASKED ME REMAIN FOR MOMENT TO ASSURE ME NIGERIAN QUESTION NEARING SETTLEMENT. HE SAID TALKS WOULD BEGIN IN FEW WEEKS AND LINES OF SETTLEMENT CLEAR. HE SAID BOTH SIDES READY FOR AGREEMENT AND EMPEROR'S LAST EFFORT WOULD FORCE PARTIES TO CONFERENCE TABLE.

2. TELLI UNWILLING SPECIFY REASONS HIS OPTIMISM OR DETAILS NEXT STEPS. PERFORMANCE TYPICAL OF TELLI AND I PLACE LITTLE RELIANCE ON HIS VIEWS BUT BELIEVE SHOULD REPORT TO DEPT AS MATTER RECORD.
HALL

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POL 27-14 BIAFRAN NIGERIA
Department of State **TELEGRAM**

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PAGE 01 LAGOS 09564 011515Z

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ACTION AF 18

INFO OCT 01, EUR 20, UCF 05, SR 01, ORM 03, IO 13, UPW 01, CIAE 00, DODE 00,

PM 05, H 02, INR 07, L 03, NSAE 00, NSC 10, P 03, RSC 01, PRS 01, SS 20,

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FM AMEMBASSY LAGOS
TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 9728
INFO AMEMBASSY ABIDJAN
AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA
AMEMBASSY FREETOWN
AMEMBASSY KINSHASA
AMEMBASSY LIBREVILLE
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY YAOUNDE
AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

S E C R E T LAGOS 9564

SUBJECT: NIGERIAN PEACE NEGOTIATIONS

REF: LAGOS 9551

1. UKHICOMER SAW GOWON AND BRIG. EKPO A. M. ON QUESTION SECURITY
OIL INSTALLATIONS FROM BIAFRAN ATTACKS. IN COURSE CONVERSATION
GOWON COMMENTED ON RECENT PEACE INITIATIVES.

2. HICOMER REPORT TO FCO FOLLOWS: QUOTE. WHEN I SAW GOWON
THIS MORNING I ASKED IF THERE WAS ANYTHING HE COULD TELL ME
ABOUT PEACE TALKS. HE SAID HE UNDERSTOOD THAT ARIKPO WOULD BE
FILLING ME IN ON MONDAY. WE WERE NO DOUBT AWARE OF BUSIA'S
APPROACH AND ALSO THAT OJUKWU HAD WRITTEN TO SIKA STEVENS
STATING HIS WILLINGNESS TO HAVE TALKS WITHOUT PRECONDITIONS AND
THAT THIS LETTER HAD BEEN BROUGHT TO LAGOS BY KETAMA YUFRI AND
DIALLO TELL. GOWON HAD REPLIED TO THE EMPERIOR THAT HE HAD ALL
ALONG BEEN WILLING TO HAVE TALKS AND HAD HAD MANY SHOTS AT IT IN
THE PAST TWO YEARS. HE WAS WILLING TO TRY AGAIN. HE WOULD NOT

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REPEAT NOT HOWEVER HIMSELF ACCEPT ANY SUCH PRECONDITION AS A TRUCE OR CEASEFIRE. GOWON COMMENTED TO ME THAT HE WAS NOT PREPARED TO SIT BACK QUIETLY FOR A MONTH AND LET OJUKWU BRING IN PLANES AND ARMS UNMOLESTED.

WHEN I SAID THAT ALL THESE AFRICAN INITIATIVES SET HIM SOMETHING OF A DIPLOMATIC PROBLEM SINCE IT WAS DESIRABLE FOR THE FEDERAL GOVT. TO SHOW THEMSELVES AS TREATING THESE PROPOSALS SYMPATHETICALLY AND CONSTRUCTIVELY, GOWON SAID THAT WE WERE NOT TO WORRY. THE FEDERAL GOVT. WOULD DO ITS BEST TO APPEAR REASONABLE TO ALL-COMERS. SPEAKING IN CONFIDENCE AS BETWEEN CLOSE FRIENDS HOWEVER, HE WAS BOUND TO SAY THAT MOST OF THE AFRICANS IN THE ACT SEEMED TO BE SEEKING FOR PERSONAL PRESTIGE WITHOUT REAL REFERENCE TO THE FACTS OF THE CASE. MOBUTU WAS ONE OF THE ONLY ONES WHO WAS A REALIST. HE COULD NOT PERSONALLY SEE THAT TALKS COULD GET ANYWHERE UNLESS OJUKWU HAD IT IN HIS MIND TO TALK ON SOME BASIS OF ONE NIGERIA. HE WAS NOT REPEAT NOT ASKING OJUKWU TO GIVE UP SECESSION BEFORE THE TALKS STARTED; BUT WHEN THEY DID START, UNLESS THERE WAS SOME GIVE ON OJUKWU'S PART, HE COULD SEE NO FUTURE IN NEGOTIATIONS. WHAT DOES EVERYONE THINK WE ARE FIGHTING ABOUT? HE ASKED. HE WENT ON TO SAY HOWEVER THAT DIRECT TALKS BETWEEN NIGERIA AND THE REBELS WAS THE ONLY WAY OF REACHING A SETTLEMENT. HE WAS AGAINST ANY SORT OF OUTSIDE MEDIATION. UNQUOTE. GP-1
TRUEHEART
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